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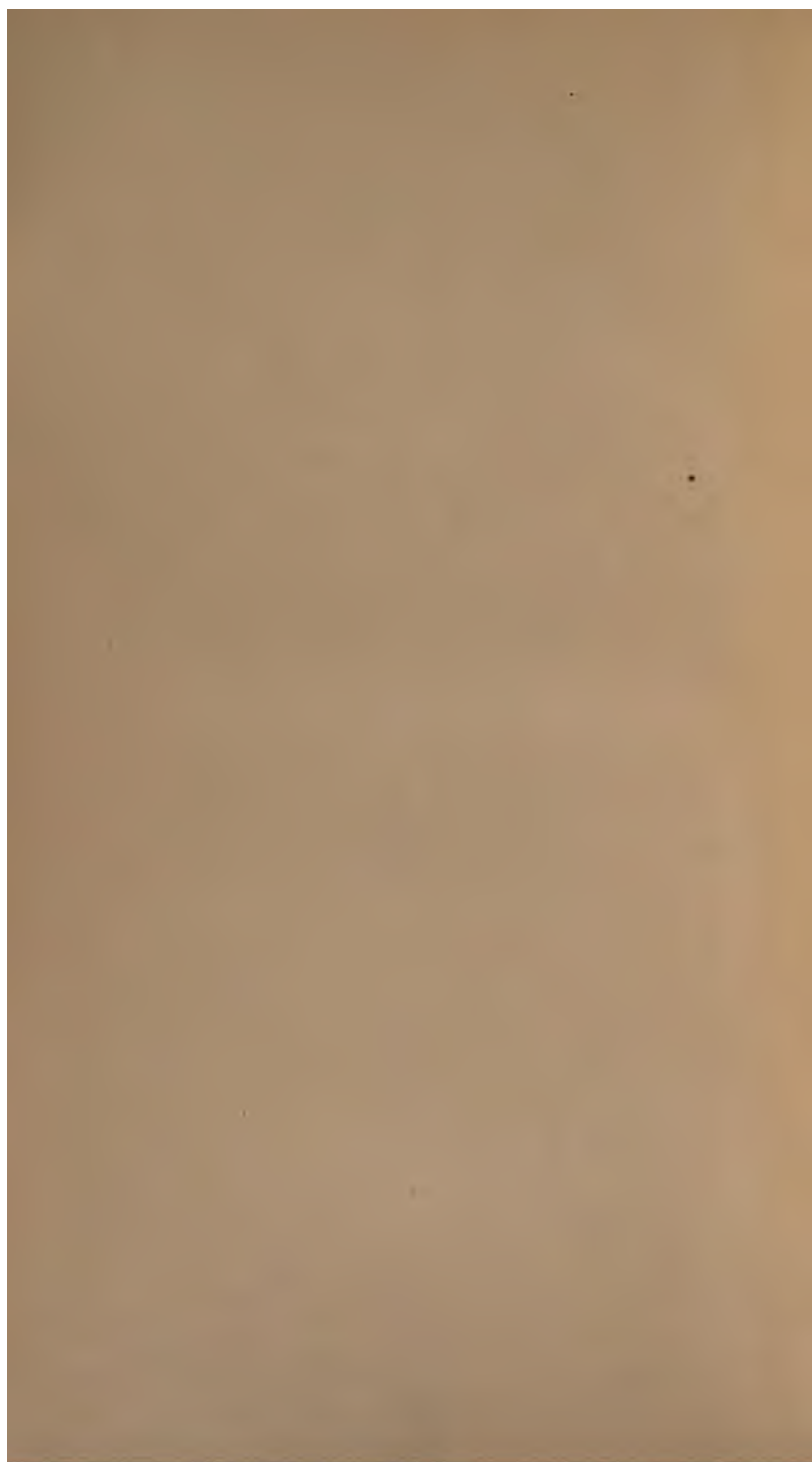
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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
ANCIENT AND MODERN,

FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL. III.

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IN WHICH
The Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church Power are considered
in their Connection with the State of Learning and Philosophy,
and the Political History of Europe during that Period.

BY THE LATE LEARNED
JOHN LAURENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

Translated from the Original Latin,
And illustrated with Notes, Chronological Tables, and an Appendix,
BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION IN SIX VOLUMES,
CONTINUED, TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,
BY CHARLES COOTE, LL.D.

AND FURNISHED WITH
AN ADDITIONAL APPENDIX TO THE FIRST BOOK,
BY THE RIGHT REV. DR. GEORGE GLEIG OF STIRLING.

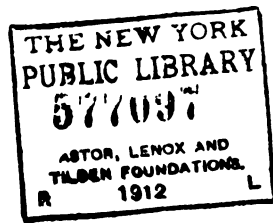
VOL. III.

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T H E
T W E L F T H C E N T U R Y .

P A R T I .

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P. I .

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to
the church during this century,*

A CONSIDERABLE part of *Europe* lay yet involved in pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the northern provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. Boleslaus, duke of *Poland*, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace, upon condition that they would receive the Christian teachers, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted; and Otho, bishop of *Bamberg*, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity, among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry,

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Several of the northern provinces received the light of the gospel.

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while great numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enterprise; for, upon his return into *Germany*, many of those, whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, apostatized in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices: this obliged Otho to undertake a second voyage into *Pomerania*, A.D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church, and to establish it upon solid foundations [a]. From this period, the Christian religion seemed daily to acquire new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians, who had hitherto refused to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received Adalbert, or Albert, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of *Pomerania*.

The Sclavonians and inhabitants of the isle of Rugen.

II. Of all the northern princes of this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than Waldemar I. king of *Denmark*, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the pagan nations, such as the Sclavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or by revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword, not only for the defence and

[a] See Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of Otho, who, A.D. 1189, was canonized by Clement III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349. Dan. Crameri *Chronicon Eccles. Pomeranie*, lib. i. as also a learned *Dissertation* concerning the conversion of the Pomeranians by the ministry of Otho, written in the German language by Christopher Schotgen, and published at *Stargard* in the year 1724. Add to these Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.

happiness

happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity; and wherever his arms were successful, he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword, by the authority of reason, rather than by the despotic voice of power. The island of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Pomerania*, submitted to the victorious arms of Waldemar, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged by that prince to hear the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Christian worship. This salutary work was brought to perfection by Absalom, archbishop of *Lunden*, a man of a superior genius, and of a most excellent character in every respect, whose eminent merit raised him to the summit of power, and engaged Waldemar to place him at the head of affairs [b].

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III. The Finlanders received the gospel in the same manner in which it had been propagated

The Fin-
landens.

[b] Saxo-Grammaticus, *Histor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239.—Helmoldus, *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. and Henr. Bangertus, *ad h. l.*—Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ*, tom. i. p. 401.

Besides the historians here mentioned by Dr. Mosheim, we refer the curious reader to an excellent history of *Denmark*, written in French by M. Mallet, professor at *Copenhagen*. In the first volume of this history, the ingenious and learned author has given a very interesting account of the progress of Christianity in the northern parts of *Europe*, and a particular relation of the exploits of Absalom, who was, at the same time, archbishop, general, admiral, and prime minister, and who led the victorious Danes to battle, by sea and land, without neglecting the cure of souls, or in the least diminishing his pious labours in the propagation of the gospel abroad, and its maintenance and support at home.

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The Livonians.

among the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen. They were also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder, and infested Swedes in a terrible manner by their perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by Eric IX. styled after his death the Saint, and reduced under the Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise time when this conquest was completed [2]; but they are all unanimous in their accounts of its effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance [3]. The founder (and ruler) of this new church was Henry, archbishop of Upsala, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of homicide. This melancholy event procured Henry the honours of sainthood and martyrdom, which were solemnly conferred upon him by pope Adrian IV. [4].

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed.

[2] Most writers, with Barenius, place this event in the year 1157. Different, however, from this is the chronology of Valtorius and Oerstedius, the former placing it in 1150, and the latter in 1157.

[3] Oerstedius *Histor. Eccl. gentis Suecicarum*. 8vo. in. cap. iv. sect. 13.—No. Looe *Histor. Suecica*. 8vo. in. p. 76. ed. 1740, cap. viii.—Valtorius *Histor. gentis Suecicarum*. 8vo. in. p. 62. *gustica*, part I. p.

The first missionary, who attempted the conversion of that savage people, was Mainhard, a regular canon of *St. Augustin*, in the monastery of *Segeberg*; who, towards the conclusion of this century [*f*], traveled to *Livonia*, with a company of merchants of *Bremen*, and improved this opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous apostle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation; whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Urban III. who consecrated him bishop of the *Livonians*, and, at the same time, declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of *Esthonia*, was continued with still greater vigour, and rendered more general by Berthold, abbot of *Lucca*, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of Mainhard, whom he accordingly succeeded in the see of *Livonia*. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in *Saxony*, preached the gospel, sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. Albert, canon of *Bremen*, became the third bishop of *Livonia*, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered *Livonia*, A.D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops drawn out of *Saxony*, and encamping at *Riga*, instituted there, by the direction of pope Innocent III., the military order of the knights sword-bearers [*g*], who were commissioned to dragoon the *Livonians* into the

[*f*] In the year 1186.

rusticis Ordo Militum Ensisferorum.

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profession of Christianity, and oblige them by force of arms to receive the benefits of baptism [b]. New legions were sent from *Germany* to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission of these booted apostles; and they, in concert with the knights sword-bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that, exhausted at length, and unable longer to stand firm against the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of their pagan deities, and substituted in their places the images of the saints. But while they received the blessings of the gospel, they were deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them, with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil [i].

The Sclavonians.

V. None of the northern nations had a more rooted aversion to the Christians, and a more obstinate antipathy to their religion, than the Sclavonians, a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the coast of the Baltic sea. This excited the zeal of several neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of pious missionaries, who united their efforts, in order to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open their eyes upon the light of the gospel. Henry, duke of *Saxony*, surnamed the *Lion*, distinguished himself in a particular manner, by the ardour which he discovered in the execution of this pious design, as well as by the wise methods he employed to render it successful.

[b] See HERR. LEONARDI SCHURTZFLEISCHII *Historia Ordinis Ensjferorum Equitum*, Wittenberg. 1701, 8vo.

[i] See the *Origines Livoniae, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio at *Frankfort*, in the year 1740, by JO. DANIEL GRUBERUS, and enriched with ample and learned observations and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

Among

Among other measures that were proper for this purpose, he restored from their ruins, and endowed richly, three bishoprics [k] that had been ravaged and destroyed by these barbarians, namely, the bishoprics of *Ratzeburg* and *Schwerin*, and that of *Oldenburg*, which was afterwards transplanted to *Lubeck*. The most eminent of the Christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Slavonians, was Vicelinus, a native of *Hamelen*, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of *St. Augustin* at *Falderen*, was at length consecrated bishop of *Oldenburg*. This excellent man employed the last thirty years of his life [l] amidst numberless vexations, dangers and difficulties, in instructing the Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that fierce

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[k] Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is very different from that which is given by Fleury, who asserts, that it was Hartwick, archbishop of *Bremen*, who restored the three ruined sees, and consecrated Vicelinus, bishop of *Oldenburg*; and that as he had done this without addressing himself to Henry, the duke seized the tithes of Vicelinus, until a reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the offended prince and the worthy bishop. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. lxix. p. 665. 668. edit. *Bruxelles*. Fleury, in this and other parts of his history, shews, that he is but indifferently acquainted with the history of *Germany*, and has not drawn from the best sources. The authorities which Dr. Mosheim produces for his account of the affair, are the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 55. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated *Preface* of Scheidius, sect. 21. Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 199. de Westphalen, *Monumenta inedita rerum Cimbricæ*, tom. ii. p. 1998.

the year 1124 to the year 1154, in which

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The judg-
ment we
ought to
form of
these con-
versions.

and intractable people. Nor was his ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the history of his life and actions in general furnishes proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his name to the latest generations [m].

VI. It is needless to repeat here the observation we have so often had occasion to make upon such conversions as these, or to intimate to the reader that the savage nations, who were thus dragooned into the church, became the disciples of Christ, not so much in reality, as in outward appearance. [§ They professed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodshed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but scenes of desolation and misery; and which, indeed, when considered in the representations that were given of it by the greatest part of the missionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the absurdities of paganism.] The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never presented to these unhappy nations in its native simplicity; they were only taught to appease the Deity, and to render him propitious, by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exercises, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been easily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and history of Christ, the sign of the cross, and some diversity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions,

[m] There is a particular and ample account of Vicelinus in the *Cimbria Literata* of M. Res Hamburg. of Lamb. subject the *Origines Ne* learned and industrious published in the *seco* *brica*, p. 2344, and in this work a print

opposed this coalition. Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems to have been this, that the leading views of these Christian heralds, and propagators of the faith, a smaller number excepted, were rather turned towards the advancement of their own interests, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, than towards the true conversion of these savage Pagans; that conversion which consists in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

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VII. A great revolution in *Asiatic Tartary*, which borders upon *Cathay*, changed the face of things in that distant region about the commencement of this century, and proved, by its effects, extremely beneficial to the Christian cause. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, died Koireinchan, otherwise called Kenchan, the most powerful monarch that was known in the eastern regions of *Asia*; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded with such uncommon valour and success, by a Nestorian priest, whose name was John, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterprising presbyter as its monarch. This was the famous *Prefter John*, (as he was called) whose country was, for a long time, considered by the Europeans as a paradise, as the seat of felicity. As he was a

The state of affairs in Tartary changed in favour of the Christians.

to the royal dignity,
-esbyter John, even
when

when he was seated on the throne [*n*]; but his kingly name was Ungchan. The high notions which the

[*n*] The account I have here given of this famous Presbyter, commonly called Prester John, who was, for a long time, considered as the greatest and happiest of all earthly monarchs, is what appeared to me the most probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the testimonies of contemporary writers, whose knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit; such as William of Tripoli, (see Dufresne's *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Stii. à Joinvillio scriptam*, p. 89.) as also a certain bishop of Gabala mentioned by Otto Frising. *Chronic.* lib. vii. cap. xxxii. See also Guillaume Rubruquis, *Voyage*, cap. xviii. p. 36. in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by father Bergeron, and Alberic in *Chronico*, ad A. 1165. and 1170, in Leibnitii *Accessionibus Historicis*, tom. ii. p. 345. 355. It is indeed surprising, that such authentic records as these should have escaped the observation of the learned, and that so many different opinions should have been advanced concerning Prester John, and the place of his residence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to overlook those accounts that carry the plainest marks of evidence, and, from a passion for the *marvellous*, to plunge into the regions of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, John II. king of *Portugal*, employed Pedro Covilliano in a laborious inquiry into the real situation of the kingdom of Prester John. The curious voyager undertook this task, and, for information in the matter, travelled with a few companions into *Abyssinia*; and observing in the emperor of the Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, many circumstances that resembled the accounts which, at that time, prevailed in *Europe* concerning Prester John, he persuaded himself that he had fulfilled his commission, and found out the residence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of his researches. His opinion easily gained credit in *Europe*, which had not yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbarism. See Morinus, *de sacris Eccles. Ordinationibus*, part II. p. 367. But a new light was cast upon this matter in the seventeenth century, by the publication of several pieces, which the industry of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portuguese opinion, and were convinced that Prester John reigned in *Asia*, though they still continued to dispute about the situation of his kingdom, and other particular circumstances. There are, notwithstanding all this, some men of the most eminent learning in our times, who maintain, that John was emperor of the Abyssinians, and thus prefer the Portuguese opinion, though destitute

the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal presbyter, were principally produced by the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor Frederic I. and to Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed up with prosperity, and flushed with success, he vaunted his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne; described, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendor of his riches, the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions; and exalted himself far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was easily believed; and the Nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain-glorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, or, as others think, his brother, whose name was David, though, in common discourse, he was also called Prester John, as his predecessor had been. The reign of David was far from being happy, nor did he end his days in peace; Genghiz Khan, the great and warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

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VIII. The new kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which had been erected by the *holy warriors of France*, near the close of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the

The affairs of the Christians in Palestine in a declining state.

destitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other above mentioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the most unquestionable authorities. See Euseb. Renanot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 223. 337. Jos. Franc. Latitau, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais*, tom. i. p. 58. and tom. iii. p. 57. Henr. le Grand, *Dis. de Johanne Presbytero* in Lobo's *Voyage d'Abessinie*, tome I. p. 295.

Mohammedans

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Mohammedans saw vast numbers of those who had engaged in this holy war returning into *Europe*, and the Christian chiefs that remained in *Palestine* divided into factions, and every one advancing his private interest, without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harassed and exhausted the Christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained these efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when Atabeck Zenghi [o], after a long siege, made himself master of the city of *Edeffa*, and threatened *Antioch* with the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own strength obliged them to turn their eyes once more towards *Europe*. They accordingly implored, in the most lamentable strain, the assistance of the European princes; and requested that a new army of cross-bearing champions might be sent to support their tottering empire in the Holy Land. Their entreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other Christian princes to undertake a new expedition into *Palestine*.

The crusade renewed.

IX. This new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipita-

[o] *Atabeck* was a title of honour given by the *Sultans* to the viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intrusted with the government of their provinces. The Latin authors, who have written the history of this holy war, and of whom Bongarsius has given us a complete list, call this *Atabeck Zenghi*, Sanguinus. See Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word *Atabeck*, p. 142.

tion

tion as the former had been; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the famous abbot of *Clairval*, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to those disputes under the pontificate of Eugenius III. who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic *preached the cross*, i. e. the *crusade* in *France and Germany*, with great ardour and success; and in the grand parliament assembled at *Vezelai*, A. D. 1146, at which Louis VII. king of *France*, his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the principal nobility, were present, Bernard recommended this holy expedition with such a persuasive power, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretell its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the journey into *Palestine*. Conrad III. emperor of *Germany*, was, for some time, unmoved by the exhortations of Bernard; but he was at length gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for *Palestine*, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the Holy Land, the greatest part of their forces perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the Mohammedans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the western nations as more to be feared than the infidels themselves. Louis VII. left his kingdom A. D. 1147, and in the month of *March* of the

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the following year, he arrived at *Antioch*, with the wretched remains of his army, dejected and exhausted by a series of hardships. Conrad set out also in the year 1147, in the month of *May*; and, in *November* following, he arrived at *Nice*, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greatest part of his own by calamities of various kinds. From *Nice*, the two princes proceeded to *Jerusalem*, A. D. 1148; whence they led back into *Europe*, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters of the expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of this second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions that reigned among the Christian chiefs in *Palestine*. Nor was it more ineffectual in *Palestine* than it was detrimental to *Europe*, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying a prodigious number of its inhabitants [p].

The kingdom of Jerusalem overturned.

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes relinquished their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders.

[p] Besides the historians enumerated by Bongarsius, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451. Jac. Gervasi *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 239. This was the famous Suger, abbot of *St. Denys*, who had seconded the exhortations of Bernard in favour of the *crusade*, and whom Louis appointed regent of *France* during his absence. Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. i. p. 86. Joh. Jac. Mascovius, *de rebus imperii sub Conrado III.*

Both

Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves without reluctance to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. Saladin, viceroy, or rather sultan of *Egypt* and *Syria* [q], and the most valiant chief of whom the Mohammedan annals boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He waged war against the Christians with the utmost valour and success; took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, king of *Jerusalem*, in a fatal battle fought near *Tiberias*, A.D. 1187; and, in the course of the same year, reduced *Jerusalem* itself under his dominion [r]. The carnage and desolation that accompanied this dreadful campaign, threw the affairs of the Christians in the east into a deplorable condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European princes. Succours were obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, in consequence of repeated solicitations

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☞ [q] Saladin, so called by the western writers, *Salah-a'ddin* by the Orientals, was no longer vizir or viceroy of *Egypt*, when he undertook the siege of *Jerusalem*, but had usurped the sovereign power in that country, and had also added to his dominions, by right of conquest, several provinces of *Syria*.

[r] See the *Life of Saladin* by Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, an Arabian writer, whose history of that warlike sultan was published at *Leyden* in the year 1732, by the late celebrated professor Albert Schultens, and accompanied with an excellent Latin translation. See also Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article *Salah-a'ddin*, p. 742. and Marigny's *Histoire des Arabes*, tome iv. p. 289. ☞ But, above all, see the learned *History of the Arabians* in the *Modern Part of the Universal History*.

and

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and entreaties. But the event, as we shall now see, was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, or to the pains that were employed, for the support of the tottering kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

A third
crusade un-
dertaken.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of *Germany*, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into *Asia Minor*, whence, after having defeated the sultan of *Iconium*, he penetrated into *Syria*. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river *Saleph* [s], which runs through *Seleucia*. The manner of his death is not known with certainty; the loss however of such an able chief dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into *Europe*. Those who remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder which raged with extraordinary violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible disease, A. D. 1191; those who escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country [t].

✠ [s] Maimbourg, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, and Marigny, in his *Hist. du xii. Siecle*, say, that Frederic perished in the *Cydnus*, a river of *Cilicia*. But they are easily to be reconciled with our author, since, according to the descriptions given of the *Saleph* by several learned geographers, and among others by Roger the Annalist, it appears that the *Saleph* and the *Cydnus* were the same river under different names.

[t] See an ample and satisfactory account of this unhappy campaign in the *Life of Frederic I.* written in German by Henry count Bunau, p. 278. 293. 309.

XII. The example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed, in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus king of *France*, and the lion-hearted Richard, king of *England*. These two monarchs set out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war and transports [*u*]; arrived in *Palestine* in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army; and were pretty successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of *Acre* or *Ptolemais*, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into *Europe*, in the month of *July*, 1191, leaving, however, a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into *Palestine*. After his departure the king of *England* pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but also made himself master of *Jaffa* [*w*] and *Cæsarea*. Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and evacuated *Palestine* with his whole army [*x*]. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which nearly exhausted *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving

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Its Issue.

✂ [*u*] The learned authors of the *Modern Universal History* affirm that Philip arrived in *Palestine*, with a supply of men, money, &c. on board of six ships, whereas Renaudot mentions 100 sail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of Richard consisted of 150 large ships, besides galleys, &c.

[*w*] More commonly known by the name of *Joppa*.

[*x*] Daniel, *Histoire de France*, tome iii. p. 426.—Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tome ii. *Regne de Richard Cœur-de-Lion*.—Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome iv. p. 285.

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PART I.

Institution
of the mili-
tary orders
of knight-
hood.

even a favourable turn, to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mohammedans gave rise to *three famous military orders*, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harass the Moslems by perpetual inroads and warlike achievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform other services that tended to the general good [y]. The first order was that of the *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *Hospitalers*, from an hospital in that city, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at *Jerusalem*. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so highly augmented by the liberality of several princes, and the pious donations of such opulent persons as frequented the *holy places*, that they far surpassed the wants of those whom they were designed to cherish and relieve. Hence it was that Raymond du Puy, who was the ruler of this charitable house, offered to the king of *Jerusalem* to make war upon the Mohammedans at his own expence, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. Baldwin II. to whom this proposal was made, readily accepted it, and the enterprize was solemnly approved and confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiff. Thus was the world surpris'd with the strange transformation of a devout fra-

[y] The writers, who have given the history of these three orders, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465; but his enumeration is not complete.

ternity,

ternity, who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of arms, in the performance of works of charity and ~~ga~~eracy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole order was upon this occasion divided into three classes; the first contained the *knights*, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the Christian cause; in the second were comprehended the *priests*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the *serving brethren*, or the soldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occasions, eminent proofs of resolution and valour, and acquired immense opulence by heroic exploits. When *Palestine* was irrecoverably lost, the *knights* passed into the isle of *Cyprus*; they afterwards made themselves masters of the isle of *Rhodes*, where they maintained themselves for a long time; but being, finally driven thence by the Turks, they received from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the island of *Malta*, where their chief, or grand commander, still resides [z].

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XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, so called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Baldwin II. The foundations of this order were laid at *Jerusalem*, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Payens, Geoffry of St. Aldemar, or of St. Amour, as some will have it, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by be-

The knights
templars.

[z] The best and the most recent history of this order is that which was composed by Vertot at the request of the knights of *Malta*; it was first published at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Amsterdam*, in five volumes 8vo. in the year 1732. See also Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iii. p. 72.

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ing solemnly confirmed in the council of *Troyes*, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. Bernard [a]. These warlike templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit *Jerusalem*, against the insults and barbarity of the Moslems. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches, and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty, rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed with the most terrible circumstances of infamy and severity, by a decree of the pope and of the council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, as we shall see in the history of the fourteenth century [b].

The Teuto-
nic order.

XV. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*; and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of *Acre* or *Ptolemais*, though there are historians adventurous enough to seek its origin (which they place at *Jerusalem*) in a more remote period. During the long and tedious siege of *Acre*, several pious and charitable

[a] See Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tome vi. p. 159.

[b] See Matthew Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See also Putean, *Histoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republished with considerable additions, at *Brussels*, in 4to, in the year 1751: and Nic. Gurtleri *Historia Templariorum Militum, Amstelodam.* 1691. in 8vo.

merchants

merchants of *Bremen* and *Lubeck*, moved with compassion at the sight of the miseries which the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to perfection. Their resolution was highly approved by pope Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans; and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy Land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and services to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment [c], bread, and water, were the only rewards which the knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity generates corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order were augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from *Palestine*, made themselves masters of *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, and *Semigallia*; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks; and when the light of the reformation arose upon *Germany*, they

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PART I.

[c] This garment was a white mantle with a black cross.

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were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories [d].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

The state of
the church
in the west-
ern and
northern
provinces.

I. **T**HE progress of Christianity in the west had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of Jesus. The Jews and Pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained; but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accused by the Christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but, instead of attacking their accusers, they were content to defend their own lives, and secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment. Affairs were in a somewhat different state in the northern provinces. The Pagans were yet numerous there in several districts; and wherever they composed the majority, they persecuted the Christians with the utmost barbarity, the most unre-

[d] See Raymondi Duellii *Histor. Ord. Teutonici*, published in folio at Vienna, in 1727.—*Chronicon Prussæ*, by Peter Dufburg, published in 4to. at Jena, in the year 1679, by Christoph. Hartknoch.—Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iii. p. 140.—*Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici*, in Anton. Matthæi *Analektis veteris ævi*, tome v. p. 621. 658. ed. nov.—*Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici* in Petr. à Ludewig *Reliquiis Manuscriptorum*. tome vi. p. 43.

lenting and merciless fury [e]. It is true, the Christian kings and princes, who lived in the neighbourhood of these persecuting barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceased to harass and weaken them by hostilities and incursions, until at length they subdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independence and their superstitions.

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II. The writers of this century complain grievously of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens persecuted the Christians in the east; nor can we question the truth of what they relate on the subject of this dreadful persecution. But they pass over in silence the principal reasons that inflamed the resentment of this fierce people, and voluntarily forget that the Christians were the aggressors in this dreadful war. If we consider the matter with impartiality and candour, the conduct of the Saracens, however barbarous it may have been, will not appear so surprising, particularly when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the first place, they had a right, by the laws of war, to repel by force the violent invasion of their country; and the Christians could not expect, without being chargeable with the most audacious impudence, that a people whom they attacked with a formidable army, and whom, in the fury of their misguided zeal, they massacred without mercy, should receive insults with a tame submission, and give up their lives and possessions without resistance. It must also be confessed, though with sorrow, that the Christians did not content themselves with mak-

Its suffer-
ings in the
east.

[e] Helmold, *Chronica. Sclavorum*. lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88. cap. xlv. p. 89. cap. xl. p. 99.—Lindenbrogii *Scriptor. Septentrional.* p. 195, 196. 201.—Petri Lambecii *Res Hamburg.* lib. i. p. 23.

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ing war upon the Mohammedans in order to rescue *Jerusalem* and the holy sepulchre out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest length, disgraced their cause by the most detestable crimes, filled the eastern provinces through which they passed with scenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were successful. Is it then so surprising to see the infidel Saracens committing, by way of reprisal, the same barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the least provocation? Is there any thing so new and so extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exasperated, moreover, by the calamities of a religious war, carried on against them in contradiction to all the dictates of justice and humanity, should avenge themselves upon the Christians who resided in *Palestine*, as professing the religion which gave occasion to the war, and attached, of consequence, to the cause of their enemies and invaders?

Prester
John's dis-
covery and
life.

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the great Genghiz-Khan, emperor of the Tartars, gave an unhappy turn to the affairs of the Christians in the northern parts of *Asia*, near the close of this century. This warlike prince, who was by birth a Mogul, and whose military exploits raise him in the list of fame above almost all the commanders either of ancient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all *Asia*, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms. David, or Ungchan, who according to some, was the son, or, as others will have it, the brother, but who was certainly the successor, of the famous Prester John, and was himself so called in common discourse, was the first victim that Genghiz

ghiz sacrificed to his boundless ambition. He invaded his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody battle, where David lost, at the same time, his kingdom and his life [f]. The princes, who governed the Turks, Indians, and the province of *Cathay*, fell, in their turn, before the victorious Tartar, and were all either put to death, or rendered tributary; nor did Genghiz stop here, but proceeding into *Persia*, *India*, and *Arabia*, he overturned the Saracen dominion in those regions, and substituted that of the Tartars in its place [g]. From this period the Christian cause lost much of its authority and credit in the provinces that had been ruled by Prester John and his successor David, and continued to decline and lose ground until it sunk entirely under the weight of oppression, and was succeeded in some places by the errors of the Mohammedan faith, and in others by the superstitions of paganism. We must except, however, in this general account, the kingdom of *Tangut*, the chief residence of

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[f] The Greek, Latin, and Oriental writers are far from being agreed concerning the year in which the emperor of the Tartars attacked and defeated Prester John. The greater part of the Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and consequently in the thirteenth century. But Marcus Paulus Venetus (in his book *de Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. li. lii. liiii.) and other historians whose accounts I have followed as the most probable, place the defeat of this second Prester John in the year 1187. The learned and illustrious Demetrius Cantemir (in his *Pref. ad Histor. imperii Ottomanici*, p. 45. tom. i. of the French edition) gives an account of this matter different from the two now mentioned, and affirms, upon the authority of the Arabian writers, that Genghiz did not invade the territories of his neighbours before the year 1214.

[g] See Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghiz-Kan*, p. 121. published in 12mo at Paris in the year 1711.—

Biblioth. Oriental. at the article *Genghiz-Khan*,

Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. iii. part

—Jean du Plan Carpin, *Voyage en Tartarie*,
Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tome vii.

Prester

CENT. **XII.** **PART I.** **Prester John**, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained, for a long time, a certain sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited, indeed, but a faint shadow of their former grandeur [*b*].

[*b*] *Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 500.*

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. NOTWITHSTANDING the decline of the Grecian empire, the calamities in which it was repeatedly, involved, and the frequent revolutions and civil wars that consumed its strength, and were precipitating its ruin, the arts and sciences still flourished in *Greece*, and covered with glory such as cultivated them with assiduity and success. This may be ascribed, not only to the liberality of the emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which the family of the Comneni discovered for the advancement of learning, but also to the provident vigilance of the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, who took all possible measures to prevent the clergy from falling into ignorance and sloth, lest the Greek church should thus be deprived of able champions to defend its cause against the Latins. The learned and ingenious commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of *Thessalonica*, upon *Homer* and Dionysius the *Geographer*, are sufficient to shew the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the first genius in the improvement of classical erudition, and in the study of antiquity. And if we turn our view towards the various writers who composed in this century the history of their own times, such as Cinnamus, Glycas, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Briennius and others, we shall find in their productions undoubted

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PART II.

The state of
learning
among the
Greeks.

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PART II.

The state
of philoso-
phy.

doubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the esteem and approbation of future ages.

II. Nothing could equal the zeal and enthusiasm with which Michael Anchialus, patriarch of *Constantinople*, encouraged the study of philosophy by his munificence, and still more by the extraordinary influence of his illustrious example [a]. It seems, however, to have been the Aristotelian philosophy that was favoured in such a distinguished manner by this eminent prelate; and it was in the illustration and improvement of this profound and intricate system that those Greeks who had a philosophical turn were principally employed, as appears from several remains of ancient erudition, and particularly from the commentaries of Eustratius upon the ethics and other treatises of the Grecian sage. We are not, however, to imagine that the sublime wisdom of Plato was neglected in this century, or that his doctrines had fallen into disrepute. It appears, on the contrary, that they were adopted by many. Such, more especially, as had imbibed the precepts and spirit of the Mystics, preferred them infinitely to the Peripatetic philosophy, which they considered as an endless source of sophistry and presumption, while they looked upon the Platonic system as the philosophy of reason and piety, of candour and virtue. This diversity of sentiment produced the famous controversy, which was managed with such vehemence and erudition among the Greeks, concerning the respective merit and excellence of the Peripatetic and Platonic doctrines.

The state
of learning
among the
Latins.

III. In the western world the pursuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible emu-

[a] Theodorus Balsamon, *Pref. ad Photii Nomocanones* in Henr. Juscelli *Bibliotheca Juris canonici veteris*, tom. ii. p. 814.

lation and ardour; and all branches of science were studied with the greatest application and industry. This literary enthusiasm was encouraged and supported by the influence and liberality of some of the European monarchs, and Roman pontiffs, who perceived the happy tendency of the sciences to soften the savage manners of uncivilized nations, and thereby to administer an additional support to civil government, as well as an ornament to human society. Hence learned societies were formed, and colleges established, in which the liberal arts and sciences were publicly taught. The prodigious concourse of students, who resorted thither for instruction, occasioned, in process of time, the enlargement of these schools, which had arisen from small beginnings, and their erection into *universities*, as they were called, in the succeeding age. The principal cities of *Europe* were adorned with establishments of this kind; but *Paris* surpassed them all in the number and variety of its schools, the merit and reputation of its public teachers, and the immense multitude of the studious youth that frequented its colleges. And thus was exhibited in that famous city the model of our present schools of learning; a model indeed defective in several respects, but which, in after-times, was corrected and improved, and brought gradually to higher degrees of perfection [b]. About the same time the famous school of *Angers*, in which the youth were instructed in various sciences, and particularly and principally in the civil law, was founded by the zeal and industry of Ulgerius, bishop of

[b] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 463.—Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. iii. ch. xxix.—Petri Lambecii *Histor. Biblioth. Vindobon.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260.—*Histoire Liter. de la France*, tome ix. p. 60—80.

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that city [*c*]; and the college of *Montpelier*, where law and physic were taught with great success, had already acquired a considerable reputation. [*d*]. The same literary spirit reigned also in *Italy*. The academy of *Bologna*, whose origin may be traced higher than this century, was now in the highest renown, and was frequented by great numbers of students, and more especially by such as were desirous of being instructed in the civil and canon laws. The fame of this academy was, in a great measure, established by the munificence of the emperor Lotharius II. who took it under his protection, and enriched it with new privileges and immunities [*e*]. In the same province flourished also the celebrated school of *Salernum*, where great numbers resorted, and which was wholly set apart for the study of physic. While this zealous emulation, in advancing the cause of learning and philosophy, animated so

[*c*] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 215. Pocquet de la Livoniere, *Differt. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers*, p. 21. published in 4to at *Angers*, 1736.

[*d*] *Histoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 517.

[*e*] The inhabitants of *Bologna* pretend, that their academy was founded in the fifth century by Theodosius II. and they pretend to shew the diploma by which that emperor enriched their city with this valuable establishment. But the greatest part of those writers, who have studied with attention and impartiality the records of ancient times, maintain, that this diploma is a spurious production, and allege weighty arguments to prove, that the academy of *Bologna* is of no older date than the eleventh century, and that in the succeeding age, particularly from the time of Lotharius II. it received those improvements that rendered it so famous throughout all *Europe*. See Sigonii *Historia Bononiensis*, as it is published, with learned observations, in the works of that excellent author.—Muratori *Antiq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 23. 884. 898.—Just. Hen. Bohmeri *Prefat. ad Corpus Juris Canon.* p. 9. as also the elegant *History of the Academy of Bologna* written in the German language by the learned Keufelius, and published at *Helmstadt* in 8vo, in the year 1750.

many princes and prelates, and discovered itself in the erection of so many academies and schools of learning, the Roman pontiff, Alexander III. was seized also with noble enthusiasm. In a council holden at *Rome*, A. D. 1179, he caused a solemn law to be published, for erecting new schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, and restoring to their primitive lustre those which, through the sloth and ignorance of the monks and bishops, had fallen into ruin [f]. But the effect which this law was intended to produce was prevented by the growing fame of the newly-erected academies, to which the youth resorted from all parts, and left the *episcopal* and *monastic* schools entirely empty; so that they gradually declined, and sunk, at last, into a total oblivion.

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IV. Many were the signal advantages that attended these literary establishments; and what is particularly worthy of notice, they not only rendered knowledge more general by facilitating the means of instruction, but were also the occasion of forming a new circle of sciences, better digested, and much more comprehensive than that which had been hitherto studied by the greatest adepts in learning. The whole extent of learning and philosophy, before this period, was confined to the *seven liberal arts*, as they were commonly called, of which three were known by the name of the *trivium*, which comprehended *grammar*, *rhetoric*, and *logic*; and the other four by the title of *quadrivium*, which included *arithmetic*, *music*, *geometry*, and *astronomy*. The greatest part of the learned, as we have formerly observed, were satisfied with their literary acquisitions, when they had made themselves masters of the *trivium*, while such as with an adventurous flight aspired to

A new division of sciences.

[f] See B. Bohmeri *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iv. p. 705.

the

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the *quadrivium*, were considered as stars of the first magnitude, as the great luminaries of the learned world. But in this century the aspect of letters underwent a considerable and an advantageous change. The *liberal arts* and sciences were multiplied; and new and unfrequented paths of knowledge were opened to the emulation of the studious youth. *Theology* was placed in the number of the sciences; not that ancient theology which had no merit but its simplicity, and which was drawn, without the least order or connexion, from divers passages of the holy scriptures, and from the opinions and inventions of the primitive doctors, but that *philosophical* or *scholastic theology* which with the deepest abstraction traced divine truth to its first principles, and thence followed it into its various connexions and branches. Nor was theology alone added to the ancient circle of sciences; the study of the learned languages, of the civil and canon law, and of *physic* [g], were now brought into high repute. Particular academies were consecrated to the culture of each of these sciences in various places; and thus it was natural to consider them as important branches of erudition, and an acquaintance with them as a qualification necessary to such as aimed at universal learning. All this required a considerable change in the division of the sciences hitherto received; and this change was accordingly brought about. The seven *liberal arts* were, by degrees, reduced to one general title, and were comprehended under the name of philosophy, to which *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *physic*, were added. And hence originated the

☞ [g] The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, in the twelfth century, applied particularly to *metaphysics*, and it has also preserved that limited sense in language.

four classes of science, or, to use the academic phrase, the four faculties, which prevailed in the *universities* in the following century.

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The study
of Roman
law revived.

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in *Italy* the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, and, at the same time, lessened the credit of those systems of legislation which had been received for several ages past. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous *Pandect* of Justinian, which was found in the ruins of *Amalphi*, or *Melfi*, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of *Pisa*, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of *Bologna*, colleges were erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these excellent institutions were multiplied in several parts of *Italy*, in process of time, and animated other European nations to imitate so wise an example. Hence arose a great revolution in the public tribunals, and an entire change in their judicial proceedings. Hitherto different systems of law had been followed in different courts; and every person of distinction, particularly among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing that code of law which was to be the rule of his conduct. But the Roman law acquired such credit and authority, that it superseded, by degrees, all other laws in the greatest part of *Europe*, and was substituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which before this period were in the highest reputation. It is an ancient opinion, that Lotharius II. pursuant to the counsels and solici-

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tations of Irnerius [*b*], principal professor of the Roman law in the academy of *Bologna*, published an edict enjoining the abrogation of all the statutes then in force, and substituting in their place the Roman law, by which, for the future, all without exception were to modify their contracts, terminate their differences, and regulate their actions. But this opinion, as many learned men have abundantly proved [*i*], is far from being supported by sufficient evidence.

Ecclesiasti-
cal, or ca-
non law.

VI. No sooner was the civil law placed in the number of the sciences, and considered as an important branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontiffs, and their zealous adherents, judged it, not only expedient, but also highly necessary, that the *canon* law should have the same privilege. There existed, before this time, certain collections of the *canons* or laws of the church; but these collections were so destitute of order and method, and were so defective, both in respect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently explained in the schools, or be brought into use as systems of ecclesiastical polity. Hence it was, that Gratian, a Benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. Felix and Nabor at *Bologna*, and by birth a Tuscan, composed about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgement, or *Epitome* of

[*b*] Otherwise called Werner.

[*i*] See Herm. Conringius *de origine juris Germanici*, cap. xxii.—Guido Grandus, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69. published at Florence, in 4to, in 1737.—Herry Brenemann, *Historia Pandectarum*, p. 41.—Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Pref. ad Leges Longobardicas*, apud scriptor. rerum Ital. tom. i. part II. p. 4. & *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between George Calixtus and Barthol. Nibhusius, the latter of whom embraced the vulgar opinion concerning the edict of Lotharius, obtained by the solicitations of Irnerius: of this controversy there is a circumstantial account in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. iii. p. 142.

Canon Law, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope Eugenius III. was extremely pleased with this work, which was also received with the highest applause by the doctors and professors of *Bologna*, and was unanimously adopted, as the text they were to follow in their public lectures. The professors at *Paris* were the first that followed the example of those of *Bologna*, which, in process of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the European colleges. But notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the *decretal* of Gratian [*k*], and was entitled, by the author himself, the *re-union or coalition of the jarring canons* [*l*], several most learned and eminent writers of the Romish communion acknowledge, that it is full of errors and defects [*m*]. As, however, the main design of this abridgment was to support the despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs, its innumerable defects were overlooked, its merits were exaggerated; and, what is still more surprising, it enjoys, at this day, in an age of light and liberty, that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconsiderately, though more excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny, superstition, and darkness [*n*].

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VII. Such

[*k*] *Decretum Gratiani.*

[*l*] *Concordia Discordantium Canonum.*

[*m*] See, among others, Anton. Augustinus, *De Emendatione Gratiani*, published in 8vo, at *Arnheim*, A. D. 1678, with the learned observations of Steph. Baluze and Ger. a Maestricht.

[*n*] See Gerhard. a Maestricht, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, sect. 293. p. 325.—B. Just. Hen. Bohmer's *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. i. p. 100. and more particularly the learned Preface, with which he enriched the new edition of the *Canon Law*, published at *Halle* in 4to, in the year 1747. See also Alex. Machiavelli *Observationes ad Sigonii Histor. Bononiensem*,

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The state of
philosophy
among the
Latins.

VII. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themselves to philosophy with the utmost zeal and diligence. Taken in its most extensive and general meaning, that study comprehended, according to the method which was the most generally received towards the middle of this century, four classes; it was divided into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. The first class comprised *natural theology*, *mathematics*, and *natural philosophy*. In the second class were ranked *ethics*, *economics*, and *politics*. The third contained the seven arts that are more immediately subservient to the purposes of life, such as *navigation*, *agriculture*, *hunting*, &c. The fourth was divided into *grammar* and *composition*, the latter of which was subdivided into *rhetic*, *dialectics*, and *sephistry*; and under the term *dialectic* was comprehended that part of the *metaphysic* science which treats of *general notions*. This division was almost universally adopted. Some, indeed, were inclined to separate *grammar* and *mechanics* from *philosophy*; a separation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term *philosophy*, comprehended the whole circle of the sciences [9].

anonien, tom. iii. *Opus. Sigonii*, p. 128. This writer has drawn from the *Kalendarium Arenti-Gymnasii Bononiensis*, several particularities concerning Gratian and his work, which were generally unknown, but whose truth is also much disputed. What increases the suspicion of their being fabulous is, that this famous *Kalendar*, of which the Bolognese boast so much, and which they have so often promised to publish in order to dispel the doubts of the learned, has never yet seen the light. Besides, in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifest marks of unfair dealing.

[9] These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from Flago a St. Victore, *Quaragesimali Libro* ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. op. and from the *Metuogicum* of John of Salisburgh.

VIII. The

VIII. The learned, who taught or who cultivated these different branches of study, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmost animosity and bitterness [p]. At this time, *three* methods of teaching philosophy were practised by different doctors. The *first* was the *ancient* and *plain* method, which confined its researches to the philosophical notions of Porphyry, and the *dialectic* system, commonly attributed to St. Augustine, and in which was laid down this general rule, that philosophical inquiries were to be limited to a small number of subjects, lest, by their becoming too extensive, religion might suffer by a profane mixture of human subtilty with its divine wisdom. The *second* method was called the *Aristotelian*, because it consisted in explications of the works of that philosopher [q], several of whose productions, being translated into Latin, were now almost every where in the hands of the learned. These translations were, indeed, extremely obscure and incorrect, and led those who made use of them in their academical lectures, into various blunders, and often into such notions as were not more ab-

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Diffensions
among the
philosophers.

[p] See Godof. de St. Victore, *Carmen de Scâis Philosoph.* published by Le Bœuf, in his *Diff. sur l'Histoire Ecclesiast. et Civile de Paris*, tome ii. p. 254.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 562.—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 51. Jo. Sarisburiensis *Metalog. et Policrat* passim.

[q] Rob. de Monte, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacens.* published by d'Acheri, among the works of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, *ad annum* 1128, p. 753. "Jacobus Clericus de Venetia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Annual. priores et posteriores et elenchos; quamvis antiquior translatio super eosdem libros haberetur." Thom. Becket, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454. edit. *Bruxell.* 1682, in 4to. "Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi. — Precor etiam iteratâ supplicatione quatenus in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audivi, minus tamen fuit in grammaticâ institutus."

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furd than whimsical and singular. The *third* was termed the *free method*, employed by such as were bold enough to search after truth, in the manner they thought the most adapted to render their inquiries successful, and who followed the bent of their own genius, without rejecting, however, the aid of Aristotle and Plato. Laudable as this method was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and chicanery, by the imprudent management of those who employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did little more than puzzle their disciples with vain questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions [r]. These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave to many a disgust against philosophy in general, and prompted them to desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

The con-
tests of the
Dialecti-
cians, Real-
ists, and
Nominal-
ists, describ-
ed.

IX. Of all the controversies that divided the philosophers in this century, there were none carried on with greater animosity, and treated with greater subtilty and refinement, than the contest of the *Dialecticians* concerning *universals*. The sophistical doctors were wholly occupied about the intricate questions relating to *genus* and *species*, to the solution of which they directed all their philosophical efforts, and the whole course of their metaphysical studies; but not all in the same method, nor upon the same principles [s]. The two leading sects into which they had been

[r] See Jo. Sarisburiensis *Policrat.* p. 434. et *Metalog.* p. 814, &c.

[s] John of *Salisbury*, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with no small degree of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists in his book intitled *Policraticon, seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that more time had been consumed in resolving the question relating

been divided long before this period, and which were distinguished by the titles of *Realists* and *Nominalists*, not only still subsisted, but were subdivided, each into smaller parties and factions, according as the two opposite and leading schemes were modified by new fancies and inventions. The *Nominalists*, though they had their followers, were nevertheless much inferior to the *Realists*, both with respect to the number of their disciples, and to the credit and reputation of their doctrine. A third sect arose under the name of *Formalists*, who pretended to terminate the controversy, by steering a middle course between the jarring systems now mentioned; but, as the hypotheses of these new doctors were most obscure and unintelligible, they only perplexed matters more than they had hitherto been, and furnished new subjects of contention and dispute [†].

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Those

relating to *genus* and *species*, than the *Cæsars* had employed in making themselves masters of the whole world; that the riches of Cræsus were inferior to the treasures which had been exhausted in this controversy; and that the contending parties, after having spent their whole lives upon this single point, had neither been so happy as to determine it to their satisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of science where they had been groping, any discovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are: "Veterem paratus est solvere quætionem de generibus et speciebus (he speaks here of a certain philosopher) in qua laborans mundus jam senit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpsit Cæsarea domus: plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Cræsus. Hæc enim tam diu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vitâ quærerent, tandem nec istud, nec aliud invenirent."

[†] See the above-cited author's *Polierat.* lib. vii. p. 451. where he gives a succinct account of the *Formalists*, *Realists*, and *Nominalists*, in the following words: "Sunt qui more mathematicorum formas abstrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de universalibus dicitur referunt." Such were the Formalists, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call *abstract forms*. *Alii discutiunt Intellectus, et eos universalem nominibus censeri confirmant.* Here we find the *Realists* pointed

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Those among the learned, who turned their pursuits to more interesting and beneficial branches of science, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of *universals*, traveled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge, which they wished to cultivate, chiefly flourished. The students of physic, astronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in *Spain*. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were also translated into Latin [*u*]; for the high fame which that people

out, who, under the name of *universals*, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. “Fuerunt et qui voces ipsas genera dicerent et species: sed eorum jam explosa sententia est, et facile cum auctore suo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhuc, qui deprehenduntur in vestigiis eorum, licet erubescant vel auctorem vel scientiam profiteri, solis nominibus inhærentes, quod rebus et intellectibus subtrahunt, sermonibus ascribunt.” This was a sect of the *Nominalists*, who, ashamed (as this author alleges) to profess the exploded doctrine of Roscellinus, which placed *genus* and *species* in the class of mere words, or *simple denominations*, modified that system by a slight change of expression only, which did not essentially distinguish their doctrine from that of the ordinary *Nominalists*. It appears from all this, that the sect of the *Formalists* is of more ancient date than John Duns Scotus, whom many learned men consider as its founder. See Jo. Sarisbur. *Metaphysic.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814. where that eminent author describes at large the various contests of these three sects, and sums up their differences in the following words: “Alius consistit in vocibus, licet hæc opinio cum Roscellino suo fere jam evanuerit: alius sermones intuetur: alius versatur in intellectibus,” &c.

[*u*] Gerard of *Cremona*, who was so famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to *Toledo*, where he translated into Latin several Arabian treatises; see Muratori’s *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 937.—Mirmet, a French monk, travelled into *Spain* and *Africa*, to learn geography among the Saracens. See Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegium Scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443. ed. Antiquit.—Daniel Morlach, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, undertook a journey to *Toledo*, whence he brought into his own country a considerable number of Arabian books; Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 55.—Peter, abbot of *Clugni*, surnamed the *Venerable*, after

ple had acquired for erudition, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, had excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine.

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CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

I. **W**HEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive, in this century, the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number, who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority and encroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to

The lives
and man-
ners of the
clergy.

after having sojourned for some time among the Spaniards, in order to make himself master of the Arabian language, translated into Latin the *Koran*, and the *Life of Mohammed*: see Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. 345. This eminent ecclesiastic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 1169. found, upon his arrival in *Spain*, persons of learning from *England* and other countries, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour to the study of astrology. We might multiply the examples of those who traveled in quest of science during this century; but those now alleged are sufficient for our purpose.

live

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live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. Bernard, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops [w], while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity [x].

The pontiffs
ambitious
to extend
their au-
thority.

II. The pontiffs, who successively ruled the Latin church, governed that spiritual and mystical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had arisen between the imperial and sacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views, and laboured strenuously to enlarge both, though they had not all equal success in this ambitious attempt. The European emperors and princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the strides which the pontiffs were making to universal dominion, used their utmost efforts to disconcert their measures, and to check their growing opulence and power. These violent dissensions between the *empire* and the *priesthood*, (for so the contending parties were styled in this century) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. Pascal II. who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehen-

[w] In the work intituled, *Considerationum Libri v. ad Eugenium Pontificem*.

[x] See his defence of the *crusades*, under the title of *Epistola Gulielmi Abbatis ad Gualterum Abbatem Ecclesie Statu, in B. Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6
Hijlor. Academ. Pari

son from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of Guibert, who died in the year 1100 [y].

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Unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, Pascal renewed, in a council assembled at Rome, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against Henry IV. and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. Henry opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded, with much dexterity and vigilance, his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. Henry

The dispute concerning investitures is fomented anew.

V. (so was this monster afterwards named) seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to *Liege*, where deserted by all his adherents, he shook off, in 1106, the burthen of life and of misery. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontiff, or the ambitious and impatient thirst of dominion, that engaged Henry V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a

[y] Dr. Mosheim's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true: it is certain that, after the death of Guibert, the imperial party chose in his place a person named *Theodoric*, who indeed, was seized and imprisoned on the *11th* of *April*. Theodoric and Magnulf were successively could not long support their claim
Hist. Eccles. liv. lxxv. vol. xiv.

perfect

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perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however, is unquestionably certain, that Pascal II. ~~was~~ only dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dissolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that Henry had taken to his father, but adopted the cause, and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervour [z].

The progress of this dispute.

III. The revolution that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was, however, much less favourable to the views of Pascal, than that lordly pontiff expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of investing the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *canons* and *monks*, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of *Guastalla* and *Troyes*, the decrees that had so often been promulgated against *investitures*; and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years, by the wars in which Henry was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the affair to a decision. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he set out for *Italy* with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to this long and unhappy contest. He advanced towards *Rome* by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff, seeing himself destitute of all succour, and reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed the following conditions of peace: That the emperor, on the one hand, should renounce the right

[z] These accounts are drawn from the most authentic sources, and also from the eminent writers, whose authority I made use of, and whose names I mentioned, in that part of the preceding century which corresponds with the subject here treated.
of

~~Investing with~~ the ring and crozier; and that the ~~bishops and~~ abbots should, on the other hand, resign and give over, to him and his successors, all the grants, received from Charlemagne, of the rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers; upon which Henry ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of *Viterbo*. After having remained there for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty that regarded *investitures*, and confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the ring and crozier. Peace being thus concluded, the vanquished pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem [a].

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IV. This transitory peace, which was the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, *Rome* was filled with the most vehement commotions; and a loud clamor

Pascal
breaks this
convention,
and dies.

[a] Besides the writers already mentioned, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. v. p. 681. and tom. vi. p. 1, at the particular years to which the events here noticed belong.

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was raised against the pontiff, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal assembled, in the year 1112, a council in the *Lateran* church, and not only confessed, with contrition and humility, the fault he had committed in concluding such a convention with Henry, but submitted the question to the determination of the council, who accordingly took that treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it [b]. This step was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many synods and councils, both in *France* and *Germany*; he was even placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination which exposed him to the greatest dangers in those superstitious and barbarous times [c]; and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire on all sides, Henry set out a second time for *Italy*, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived in the following year at Rome, where he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontiff retired to *Benevento*.

[b] Pascal, upon this occasion, as Gregory VII. had formerly done in the case of Berenger, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgement of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. That council even condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

[c] See Gervaise, *Diff. sur l'Herésie des Investitures*, which is the fourth of the *Dissertations* prefixed to his *History of the Abbot Suger*.

Pascal,

Pascal, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance; and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate success, prepared every thing for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of *Rome*. But in the midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the attention of *Europe*, and portended great and remarkable events, the military pontiff yielded to fate, A. D. 1118.

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V. A few days after the death of Pascal, John of *Gaieta*, a Benedictine monk of *Mont-Cassin*, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the pontificate under the title of Gelasius II. In opposition to this choice, Henry elected to the same dignity Maurice Burdin, archbishop of *Braga* in *Spain* [d], who assumed the denomination of Gregory VIII. [e]. Upon this, Gelasius, not thinking himself safe at *Rome*, or indeed in *Italy*, set out for *France*, and soon after died at *Clugni*. The cardinals, who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, Guy, archbishop of *Vienne*, count of *Burgundy*, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished in the list of the Roman pontiffs by the name of Calixtus II. The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely fortunate both for the church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontiff continued to oppose the em-

[d] *Braga* was the metropolis of ancient *Galicia*, but at present is one of the three archbishoprics of *Portugal*, in the province of *Entre Duero e Minho*. The archbishop of that see claims the title of primate of *Spain*, which is annexed in *Spain* to the see of *Toledo*.

[e] See Stephani Baluzii *Vita Mauricii Burdini*, in *Miscellaneis*, tom. iii. p. 471.

peror

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peror with courage and success, and to carry the war both with the sword of the spirit, and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of *Rome*, threw into prison the pontiff that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in *Germany*. But his fortitude, and resolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly, he lent an ear to prudent counsels, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions [f].

It will appear unquestionably evident to every attentive and impartial observer of things, that the illiberal and brutal manners of those who ruled the church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning *investitures* so violent and cruel, so tedious in its duration, and so unhappy in its effects. During the space of fifty-five years, the church was governed by monks, who to the obscurity of their birth, the asperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined the inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the monastic order. Hence arose those bitter feuds, those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the church and afflicted the state during the course of this controversy. But as soon as the papal chair was filled by a man of a more dignified nature, and of liberal education, the face of things changed en-

[f] The paragraph following is the note [t] of the original placed in the text.

tirely, and a prospect of peace arose to the desires and hopes of ruined and desolate countries.

VI. These hopes were not disappointed; for, after much contestation, peace was, at length, concluded between the emperor and the pope's legates; at a general diet holden at *Worms*, A. D. 1122. The conditions were as follow:

"That for the future the bishops and abbots should be chosen by those to whom the right of election belonged [g]; but that this election should be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose [h]:

"That, in case of a dispute among the electors, the decision of it should be left to the emperor, who was to consult with the bishops upon that occasion:

"That the bishop or abbot elect should take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for them:

"That the emperor should no more confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, which were the ensigns of a ghostly dignity, but by that of the *sceptre*, which was more proper to invest the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal [i]."

This convention was solemnly confirmed in the following year in the Lateran council, and

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Peace is concluded between the pope and the emperor upon certain conditions.

[g] The expression is ambiguous; but it signifies that the elections of bishops and abbots were to be made by monks and canons as in former times.

[h] From this period the people in *Germany* were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See Petr. de Marca, *de concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. sect. 9. p. 788. edit. *Bohmeri*.

[i] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76.—Schilterus, *de Libertate Eccl. Germanice*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545.—Cæsar Rasponus, *de Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

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Two popes
raised at
the same
time to the
pontifi-
cate.

remains still in force in our times; though the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontiffs [*k*].

VII. Calixtus did not long enjoy the fruits of this peace, to which he had so much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He died in the year 1124, and was succeeded by Lambert, bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the title of Honorius II. and under whose pontificate nothing worthy of mention was transacted. His death, which happened A. D. 1130, gave rise to a considerable schism in the church of *Rome*, or rather in the college of cardinals, of whom one party elected, to the papal chair, Gregory, a cardinal deacon of *St. Angelo*, who was distinguished by the name of Innocent II. while the other chose, for successor to Honorius, Peter, the son of Leo, a Roman prince, under the title of Anacletus II. The friends of Innocent were far from being numerous in *Rome*, or throughout *Italy* in general, for which reason he judged it expedient to retire into *France*, where he had many adherents, and where he sojourned during the space of two years. His credit was very great out of *Italy*; for, besides the emperor Lotharius, the kings of *England*, *France* and *Spain*, with other princes, espoused warmly the cause of Innocent, principally by the influence of St. Bernard, who was his intimate friend, and whose counsels had the force and authority of laws in almost all the countries of *Europe*. The patrons of Anacletus were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of *Sicily* and *Scotland*. His death, in the year 1138, terminated the contest, and left Innocent in the

[*k*] It was disputed among other things, whether the consecration of the bishop elect was to precede or follow the collation of the regalia. See Jo. Wilh. Hoffman, *ad concordatum Henrici V. et Calixti II. Vitemberge*, 1739, in 4to.

entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontiff presided, in the year 1139, at the second Lateran council, and, about four years after, ended his days in peace [1].

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VIII. After the death of Innocent, the Roman see was filled by Guy, cardinal of *St. Mark*, who ruled the church about five months, under the title of Celestine II. If his reign was short, it was however peaceable, and not like that of his successor Lucius II. whose pontificate was disturbed by various tumults and seditions, and who, about eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, was killed in a riot which he was endeavouring to suppress by his presence and authority. He was succeeded by Bernard, a Cistercian monk, and an eminent disciple of the famous *St. Bernard*, abbot of *Clairval*. This worthy ecclesiastic, who is distinguished among the popes by the title of Eugenius III. was raised to that high dignity in the year 1145, and, during the space of eight years, he was involved in the same perils and perplexities that had embittered the government of his predecessor. He was often obliged to leave *Rome*, and to save himself by flight from the fury of the people [m]; and the same reason engaged him to retire into *France*, where he resided for a considerable

Successor of the pontiff, from the death of Innocent to the end of this century.

[1] Besides the ordinary writers of the papal history, see Jean de Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.* Paris, 1741, in 8vo.

67 [m] There was a party formed in *Rome* at this time, whose design was to restore the Roman senate to its former privileges, and to its ancient splendor and glory; and, for this purpose, to reduce the papal revenues and prerogatives to a narrower compass, even to the tithes and oblations that were offered to the primitive bishops, and to the spiritual government of the church, attended with an utter exclusion from all civil jurisdiction over the city of *Rome*. It was this party that produced the feuds and seditions to which Dr. Mosheim has an eye in this eighth section.

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time. At length, exhausted by the opposition he met with in supporting what he deemed the prerogatives of the papacy, he died in the year 1153. The pontificate of his successor Conrad, bishop of *Sabino*, who, after his elevation to the see of *Rome*, assumed the title of Anastasius IV. was less disturbed by civil commotions; but it was not of long duration; for Anastasius died about a year and four months after his election.

Contest
between
Frederic
Barbarossa
and Adri-
an IV.

IX. The warm contest between the emperors and the popes, which was considered as at an end ever since the time of Calixtus II. was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of Adrian IV. who was a native of *England*, and whose original name was Nicolas Breakspear. Frederic I. surnamed *Barbarossa*, being placed in 1152 on the imperial throne, publicly declared his resolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it respectable in *Italy*; nor was he at all studious to conceal the design he had formed of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the pontiffs and clergy within narrower limits. Adrian perceived the danger that threatened the majesty of the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himself for defending both with vigour and constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the emperor at *Rome*, in the year 1155, when the pontiff insisted upon Frederic's performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his holiness. This humiliating proposal was at first rejected with disdain by the emperor, and was followed by contests of a more momentous nature, relating to the political interests of the empire.

These differences were no sooner reconciled, than new disputes, equally important, arose in the year

1158, when the emperor, in order to put a stop to the enormous opulence of the pontiffs, bishops, and monks, which increased from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs* without the knowledge or consent of the superior, or lord in whose name they were holden [n], and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of *Italy* under his dominion. An open rupture, between the emperor and the pontiff, was expected as the inevitable consequence of such vigorous measures, when the death of Adrian, which happened on the first of *September*, 1159, suspended the storm [o].

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X. In the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The more numerous and powerful of the two parties raised to the pontificate, Roland, bishop of *Sienna*, who assumed the name of Alexander III. while the rest of the conclave elected to that high dignity Octavian, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, known by the title of Victor IV. The latter was patronised by the emperor, to whom Alexander was extremely disagreeable on several accounts. The council of *Pavia*, which was assembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his sentiments, and pronounced in favour of Victor, who thus became triumphant in *Germany* and *Italy*; so that *France* alone was left open to Alexander, who accordingly fled thither from Rome for safety

A dispute arises in the election of a new pontiff.

[n] This prohibition of transferring the possession of *fiefs* from one to another, without the consent of the supreme lord, or sovereign, under whom they were holden, together with other laws of a like nature, formed the first effectual barrier that was opposed to the enormous and growing opulence and authority of the clergy. See Muratori *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239.

[o] See the accurate and circumstantial account of this whole affair that is given by the illustrious and learned count Bunau, in his *History of Frederic I.* written in German, p. 45. 49. 73. 99. 105, &c.

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and protection. Amidst the tumults and commotions which this schism occasioned, Victor died at *Lucca*, in the year 1164; but his place was immediately filled by the emperor, at whose desire Guy, cardinal of *St. Calixtus*, was elected pontiff under the title of Pascal III. and acknowledged in that character by the German princes assembled in the year 1167, at the diet of *Wurtzburg*. In the mean time Alexander recovered his spirits, and, returning into *Italy*, maintained his cause with uncommon resolution and vigour, and not without some promising hopes of success. He held at *Rome*, in the year 1167 the Lateran council, in which he solemnly deposed the emperor (whom he had, upon several occasions before this period, publicly loaded with anathemas and execrations), dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel against his authority, and to shake off his yoke. But, soon after this audacious proceeding, Frederic made himself master of *Rome*; upon which the insolent pontiff fled to *Benévvento*, and left the apostolic chair to Pascal, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of Alexander seemed, soon after, to take a more prosperous turn, when (the greatest part of the imperial army being consumed by a pestilential disorder) the emperor was forced to abandon *Italy*, and when the death of Pascal, which happened in the year 1168, delivered him from a powerful and formidable rival. But this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial faction elected to the pontificate, John, abbot of *Strum*, under the title of Calixtus III. whom Frederic, notwithstanding his absence in *Germany*, and the various wars and disputes in which he was involved, supported to the utmost of his power. When peace was in some measure restored to the empire, Frederic marched

marched into *Italy*, A. D. 1174, to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and seized the first opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, Alexander would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to Calixtus. But the event came far short of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited; and the emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was at length so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at *Venice* with Alexander, and a truce with the rest of his enemies [p]. Some writers affirm, that, upon this occasion, the haughty pontiff trod upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, while he kissed his foot, repeating at the same time those words of the royal Psalmist: *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet* [q]. The greatest part, however, of modern authors have called this event in question, and consider it as utterly destitute of authority and unworthy of credit [r].

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[p] All the circumstances of these conventions are accurately related by count Bunau, in his *History of Frederic I.* p. 115.—242.—See also Fortunati Olmi *Storia della Venuta à Venezia occultamente nel A. 1177. di Papa Alessandro III. Venet.* 1629, in 4to.—Muratori *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 2. 9.—*Origines Guelphicae*, tom. ii. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. April. p. 46. in *Vita Hugonis abbatis Bonæ-Vallis*, & tom. ii. April. in *Vita Galdini Mediolanensis*, p. 596. two famous ecclesiastics, who were employed as ambassadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

[q] Psalm xci. 13.

[r] See Bunau's *Life of Frederic I.* p. 242.—II:umanni *Paciles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 147.—*Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. vi.

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A misunderstanding
arises between Alex-
ander III.
and Henry
II. king of
England.

XII. Alexander III. who was rendered so famous by his long and successful contest with Frederic I. was also engaged in a warm dispute with Henry II. king of *England*, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas Becket archbishop of *Canterbury*. In the council of *Clarendon*, which that prince held in the year 1164 several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced within narrower bounds [s]. Becket refused obedience to these laws.

p. 5. as also the authors mentioned by Caspar Sagittarius, in his *Introduc. in Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 630. tom. ii. p. 600.

[s] See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 82, 83, 101, 114. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 434.

Henry II. had formed the wise project of bringing the clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on account of the scandalous abuse they had made of their immunities, and the crimes which the ecclesiastical tribunals let pass with impunity. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which consisted of sixteen articles, were drawn up for this purpose: and as they are proper to give the reader a just idea of the prerogatives and privileges that were claimed equally by the king and the clergy, and that occasioned of consequence such warm debates between state and church, it will not be altogether useless to transcribe them at length.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage arises between the laity, or between the *clergy* and *laity*, the controversy is to be tried and ended in the *King's Court*.

II. Those churches which are *fees* of the crown, cannot be granted away in perpetuity without the king's consent.

III. When the *clergy* are charged with any misdemeanour, and summoned by the justiciary, they shall be obliged to make their appearance in his court, and plead to such parts of the indictment as shall be put to them; and likewise to answer such articles in the ecclesiastical courts as they shall be prosecuted for by that jurisdiction; always provided, that the king's justiciary shall send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the court christian. And in case any *clerk* is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the privilege of his character, and to be protected by the church no longer.

laws, which he deemed prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the church in general, and to the prerogatives

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IV. No archbishops, bishops, or parsons, are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a licence from the crown ; and provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security, not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

V. When any of the laity are prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, the charge ought to be proved before the bishop by legal and reputable witnesses ; and the course of the process is to be so managed that the archdeacon may not lose any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office : and if any offenders seem to have been screened from prosecution upon the score either of favour or quality, the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall order twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the bishop, that they will discover the truth according to the best of their knowledge.

VI. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security to continue upon the place where they live ; but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their absolution.

VII. No person that *holds in chief of the king*, or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application be made to the king, provided he be in the kingdom ; and if his highness be out of *England*, the justiciary must be acquainted with the dispute in order to make satisfaction : and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the king's court, must be tried there ; and that which belongs to the Court Christian, must be remitted to that jurisdiction.

VIII. In case of appeals in ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop : and, if the archbishop fails to do justice, recourse may be had to the king, by whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the archbishop's court. Neither shall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown.

IX. When a difference happens to arise between any clergyman and layman concerning a tenement, and the clerk pretends that it is holden by *frank Almoine* *, and the layman pleads it a *lay fee* ; the tenure shall be tried by the inquiry and verdict of twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood, summoned according to the custom of the realm. And, if the tenement or thing in controversy shall be found *frank Almoine*, the dispute concerning it shall be tried in the ecclesiastical court.

* i. e. A tenure by divine service, as Britton explains it.

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prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs in particular. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the

court. But if it is brought in a *lay-fee*, the suit shall be followed in the king's courts, unless both the plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in question of the same bishop; in which case the cause shall be tried in the court of such bishop or baron, with this farther proviso, that he who is seised of the thing in controversy, shall not be disseised during the suit, (*pendente lite*), upon the ground of the verdict above-mentioned.

X. With regard to one who holds of the king in any city, castle, or borough, or resides upon any of the demesne lands of the crown, in case he is cited by the archdeacon or bishop to answer for any misbehaviour belonging to their cognizance: if he refuses to obey their summons, and stand to the sentence of the court, it shall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the town shall be pre-acquainted with the case, in order to enjoin him to make satisfaction to the church. And if such officer or magistrate shall fail in his duty, he shall be fined by the king's judges. And then the bishop may exert his discipline on the refractory person as he thinks fit.

XI. All archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical persons, who hold of the king in chief, and by the tenure of a barony, are for that reason obliged to appear before the king's justices and ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure, and to observe all the usages and customs of the realm; and, like other barons, are bound to be present at trials in the king's court, till sentence is to be pronounced for the losing of life or limbs.

XII. When any archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory, of royal foundation, become vacant, the king is to make seizure; from which time all the profits and issues are to be paid into the exchequer, as if they were the demesne lands of the crown. And when it is determined that the vacancy shall be filled up, the king is to summon the most considerable persons of the chapter to court, and the election is to be made in the chapel royal, with the consent of our sovereign lord the king, and by the advice of such persons of the government, as his highness shall think fit to consult; at which time, the person elected shall, before his consecration, be obliged to do homage and fealty to the king, as his liege lord; which homage shall be performed in the usual form, with a clause saving the privilege of his order.

XIII. If any of the temporal barons, or great men, shall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by

the resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into *France*, where Alexander was at that time in a kind of exile. This pontiff and the king of *France* interposed their good offices in order to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage Becket to return to *England*, where he was re-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign towards him, were not sufficient to subdue his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining what he called the privileges of the church; nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of Henry.

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by themselves, or their tenants, the king shall do justice to the party aggrieved. And if any person shall disseise the king of any part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the archbishops, bishops, and deacons, shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown restitution; i. e. "They were to excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible."

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeitures of felony or treason are not to be detained in any church or church-yard, to secure them against seizure and justice; because such goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a church or without it.

XV. All actions, and pleas of debts, though particularly solemn in the circumstances of the contract, shall be tried in the king's courts.

XVI. The sons of copy-holders are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

Such were the articles of the constitutions of *Clarendon*, against the greatest part of which the pope protested. They were signed by the English clergy, and also by Becket. The latter, however, repented of what he had done, and retiring from court, suspended himself from his office in the church for about forty days, till he received absolution from Alexander, who was then at *Sens*. His aversion to these articles manifested itself by an open rebellion against his sovereign, in which he discovered his true character, as a most daring, turbulent, vindictive, and arrogant priest, whose ministry was solely employed in extending the despotic dominion of *Rome*, and whose fixed purpose was to aggrandize the church upon the ruins of the state. See Collier's *Eccelesiastical History*, vol. i. xiiith century. Rapin Thoyras, in the reign of Henry II.

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The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate; for he was, soon after his return into *England*, assassinated before the altar while he was at vespers in his cathedral by four persons, who certainly did not commit this act of violence without the king's knowledge and connivance [*t*]. This event produced warm

☞ [*t*] This assertion is in our opinion by much too strong. It can only be founded upon certain indiscrete and passionate expressions, which the intolerable insolence and phrenetic obstinacy of Becket drew from Henry in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effected with so much trouble and condescension, he expressed himself to this purpose: *Am I not unhappy, that, among the numbers who are attached to my interests, and employed in my service, there is no one possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest?* These words, indeed, were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were *Fitz-Urse, Tracy, Brito, and Morville*, murdered Becket in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. But it is extremely remarkable, that, after the murder, the assassins were afraid they had gone too far, and durst not return to the king's court, which was then in *Normandy*; but retired at first to *Knareborough* in *Yorkshire*, which belonged to *Morville*, whence they repaired to *Rome* for absolution, and being admitted to penance by Alexander, were sent by that pontiff to *Jerusalem*, and passed the remainder of their lives upon the *Black Mountain* in the severest acts of austerity and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been deliberately concerned in this murder, or had expressly consented to it. On the contrary, various circumstances concur to prove that Henry was entirely innocent of this murder. Mr. Hume mentions particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above-mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropped, "dispatched (says Mr. Hume) a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the prince's mate. But these orders came too late." See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 294. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of England*. The works to which Dr. Mosheim refers for an account of this matter, are as follow: *Guiliel. Stephanidæ Historia Thome Cantuariensis apud Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, published

warm debates between the king of *England* and the Roman pontiff, who gained his point so far as to make the suppliant monarch undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter, while the murdered prelate, in 1173, was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs [u].

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XIII. It was not only by force of arms, but also by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wise counsels and prudent laws, that Alexander III. maintained the pretended rights of the church, and extended the authority of the Roman pontiffs. For, in the third Lateran council, holden at *Rome* in 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority. 1st, In order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontiffs, it was determined that the right of election should be vested in the *cardinals* alone, and that the person, in whose favour two-thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful pontiff. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election of the pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which, not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded from all share in the honour of conferring that

Alexander III. contributes by prudent counsels to confirm the privileges of the church, and to extend the papal authority.

published in folio at *London* by Sparke, in the year 1723.—*Christ. Lupi Epistole et Vita Thomæ Cantuar.*—*Epistole Alexandri III. Ludovici VII. Henrici II. in hac causa, ex M.S. Vaticano, Bruxelles*, 1682, 2 vol. 4to.—*Natalis Alexandri Select. Histor. Eccles. Capita, Sec. xii. Diff. x. p. 833.*—*Thomæ Stapletoni Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori. Colonia*, 1612. in 8vo.

[u] Boulay, *Histor. Académ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 328. et de *Die Feste ejus*, p. 397. Dom. Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 249.

important

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important dignity. 2dly, A spiritual war was declared against the heretics, whose numbers, increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in *France*, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their errors [*w*]. 3dly, The right of recommending and nominating to the faintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pontiff alone [*x*]. We must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII., was not only assumed, but also exercised by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I. duke of *Portugal*, who, under the pontificate of Lucius II., had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see [*y*]

[*w*] See Natalis Alexander, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sec. xii. Diff.* ix. p. 819. where he treats particularly of this council.—See also tom. vi. part II. *Conciliorum Harduini*, p. 1671.

☞ Dr. Mosheim, as also Spanheim and Fleury, call this the 3d Lateran council, whereas other historians mention eight preceding councils holden in the Lateran church, *viz.* those of the years 649. 864. 1105. 1112. 1116. 1123. 1139. 1167. Our author has also attributed, to this council of 1179, decrees that probably belong to a later period.

[*x*] See what has been observed already, under the xth century, concerning the election of the popes, and the *canonization* of saints.

[*y*] Baronius, *Annal. ad A.* 1179.—Innocentii III. *Epistole Lib.* ep. xlix. p. 54. tom. i. ed. Baluz.

☞ Alphonso had been declared, by his victorious army, king of *Portugal*, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the *Moor*s; so that Alexander did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vassal.

XIV. Upon the death of Alexander, Ubald, CENT. XII. PART II. bishop of *Osia*, otherwise known by the name of Lucius III. was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned in the preceding section. His successor. The administration of this new pontiff was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope that was elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and the people. In the midst of these troubles he died at *Verona* in the year 1185, and was succeeded by Hubert Crivelli, bishop of *Milan*, who assumed the title of Urban III. and who, without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that Saladin had made himself master of *Jerusalem*. The pontificate of his successor Albert [z], whose papal denomination was Gregory VIII. exhibited a still more striking instance of the fragility of human grandeur; for this pontiff yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was succeeded by Paul, bishop of *Prenceste*, who filled the papal chair above three years under the title of Clement III. and died in 1191, without having distinguished his ecclesiastical reign by any memorable achievement, if we except his zeal for draining *Europe* of its treasures and inhabitants by the publication of new *crusades*. Celestine III. [a] makes a more shining figure in history than the pontiffs we have been now mentioning; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold,

[z] This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was bishop of *Benevento*, and chancellor of the Roman church.

[a] Whose name was Hyacinth, a native of *Rome*, and a cardinal deacon.

CENT. XII. PART II. duke of *Austria*, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. king of *England*, as he was returning from the Holy Land: he also subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X. king of *Gallicia* and *Leon*, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered; and commanded Philip Augustus, king of *France*, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours Ingelburga his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though this order, indeed, produced little effect [b]. But the most illustrious and resolute pontiff, that filled the papal chair during this century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in *Europe*, was Lotharius, count of *Segni*, cardinal deacon, otherwise known by the name of Innocent III. The arduous undertakings and bold achievements of this eminent pontiff, who was placed at the head of the church in the year 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

A view of
the other
ecclesiastical
orders and
their vices.

XV. If, from the series of pontiffs that ruled the church in this century, we descend to the other ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests, and deacons, very unpleasing objects will be exhibited to our view. The unanimous voice of the historians of this age, the laws and decrees of synods and councils, loudly declare the gross ignorance, odious frauds, and flagitious crimes, that reigned among the different ranks and orders of the clergy now mentioned. It is not therefore at all surprising, that the monks, whose rules of discipline obliged them to a regular method of living, and placed them out of the way of many temptations to licentiousness, and occasions of sinning, to which the episcopal

[b] It was in consequence of the vigorous and proceedings of Innocent III. that the re-union between and Ingelburga was accomplished. See *L'Histoire par l'Abbé Velly*, tome iii. p. 367.

and sacerdotal orders were exposed, were in higher estimation than these were. The reign of corruption became, however, so general, that it reached at last even the convents; and the monks, who were gaining with the most ardent efforts the summit of ecclesiastical power and authority, and who beheld both the *secular clerks* and the *regular canons* with aversion and contempt [*c*], began, in many places, to degenerate from that sanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of discipline, by which they had been formerly distinguished, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice [*d*]. The Benedictines of *Clugni*, who undoubtedly surpassed, in regularity of conduct and purity of manners, all the monastic orders who lived under their rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidst the general decay of piety and virtue: but they were at length carried away with the torrent. Seduced by the example of their abbot Pontius, and corrupted by the treasures that were poured daily into their convent by the liberality of the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive austerity, and following the dissolute examples of the other Benedictines, they *gave themselves up to pleasure, and dwelt carelessly* [*e*]. Several of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this disorder, and

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[*c*] See Ruperti *Epistola* in Martenne's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 285. This writer *presens* the monks to the apostles.

[*d*] See Bernardi *Considerationes ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. cap. iv.—See also the *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*, a Poem, composed by Nigel Wireker, an English bard of no mean reputation, who lived about the middle of the xiiith century. In this poem; of which several editions have been published, the different orders of monks are severely censured; the Carthusians alone have escaped the keen and virulent satire of this witty writer.

[*e*] Isaiah, xlvii. 8.

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The pro-
sperous
state of the
Cistercian
Order.

to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much less successful than they expected, nor could the monks of *Clugni* ever be brought back to their primitive sanctity and virtue [f].

XVI. The *Cistercian Order*, which was much inferior to the monks of *Clugni*, both with respect to the antiquity of its institution, and the possessions and revenues of its convent, far surpassed them in external regularity of life and manners, and in a striking air of innocence and sanctity. Hence its members acquired that high degree of reputation and authority, which the order of *Clugni* had formerly enjoyed; and the fraternity increased daily in number, credit, and opulence. The famous St. Bernard, abbot of *Clairval*, whose influence throughout *Europe* was incredible, whose word was a law, and whose counsels were regarded by kings and princes as so many orders to which the most respectful obedience was due, was the person who contributed most to enrich and aggrandize the Cistercian order. Hence he is justly considered as its second parent and founder; and hence the Cistercians, not only in *France*, but also in *Germany* and other countries, were distinguished by the title of *Bernardin monks* [g]. A hundred and sixty religious communities derived their origin, or their rules of discipline, from this illustrious abbot; and he left, at his death, seven hundred monks in the monastery of *Clairval*. The church abounded with bishops and archbishops who had been formed and prepared for the ministry by his

[f] See Martenne's *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum*. *Deer.* tom. ix. p. 4119.

[g] See Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Benedic.* tom. vi. passim, in *vita Sti. Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint. - See also the *Annales Cisterciens.* by Manriquez, tom. ii. and iii.

ctions; and he also reckoned, among the
er of his disciples, Eugenius III. one of the
and wisest of the Roman pontiffs.

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III. The growing prosperity of the *Cistercian*
- excited the envy and jealousy of the monks
Clugni, and, after several dissensions of less
quence, produced at length an open rup-
a declared war, between these opulent and
rful monasteries. They both followed the
of St. Benedict, though they differed in their
, and in certain laws, which the Cister-
more especially had added to that rule.
monks of Clugni accused the Cisterrians of
ing an extravagant austerity in their man-
and discipline; while the Cisterrians, on
other hand, charged them, upon very
grounds, with having degenerated from
former sanctity and regularity of conduct.
Bernard, who was the oracle and protector
the Cisterrians, wrote, in the year 1127, an
ogy for his own conduct with respect to the
on that subsisted between the two convents,
inveighed, with a just but not intemperate fe-
y, against the vices that corrupted the monks
Clugni [b]. This charge was answered, though
uncommon moderation and candour, by
Peter

Jealousies
arise be-
tween the
Cisterrians
and the
monks of
Clugni.

[b] This apology, as it is called, of St. Bernard is well
the attention of the curious reader, as it exhibits a true
vely picture of monastic opulence and luxury, and shews
the religious orders in general lived in this century. The
is abbot, in this performance, accuses the monks of
is of luxury and intemperance at their table, of super-
and magnificence in their dress, their bed-chambers, their
ure, equipage, and buildings. He points out the pride
anity of the abbots, who looked much more like the go-
ns of provinces, than the spiritual fathers of humble and
communities, whose original profession it was, to be cru-
l and dead to the interests and pleasures, the pomps and va-
of the present world. He declares, with a pious concern,

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Peter Mauricius, abbot of *Clugni*; and hence arose a controversy in form, which spread from day to day its barreful influence, and excited disturbances in several provinces of *Europe* [*i*]. It was, however, followed by a much more vehement and bitter contest concerning an exemption from the payment of tythes, granted among other privileges and immunities to the Cisterians, A. D. 1132, by Innocent II. A considerable part of the lands which the Cisterians possessed, and to which the pontiff granted this exemption, were subject to the monks of Clugni, who consequently suffered by this act of liberality, and disputed the matter, not only with the Cisterians, but with the pope himself. This keen dispute was, in some measure, terminated in the year 1155; but in what manner, or upon what conditions, we do not precisely know [*k*].

Lives and
manners of
the canons.

XVIII. The *regular canons*, who had been formed into a fixed and permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more useful and exemplary manner than the monastic drones, who passed their days in luxury and

that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. lxxvii. tome xiv. p. 351. edit. *Bruxelles*.

[*i*] See S. Bernardi *Apologia* in *Oper.* tom. i. p. 523—533. The *Apology* of Peter, abbot of *Clugni*, surnamed the *venerable*, which is published among his *Epistles*, lib. i. ep. 28. in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, tom. i. p. 657—695. See also the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by Martenne, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1573—1613. Compare with all these Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 80. and Manriquez, *Annal. Cisterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

[*k*] See Manriquez, *Annal. Cistercienses*, tom. i. p. 232.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 212. 479. & *Præfat. ad Opera S. Bernardi*.—Jo. de Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat d'Innocent II.* p. 68.—79.—Jo. Nic. Hertii *Diff. de exemptione Cisterc. à decimis*.

cloth.

both. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of ecclesiastical functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church [1]. Hence they rose daily in credit and reputation, received many rich and noble donations from several persons, whose opulence and piety rendered them able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making reprisals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in discourses and in writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, sequestered from human society, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honors and functions. Hence arose, between the monks and canons, a long and warm contest for pre-eminence; in which both parties carried their pretensions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation [m]. The champions, who espoused the interest of the monks, were the famous Peter Abelard, Hugh of Amiens, Rupert of Duryz; while the cause of the canons was defended by Philip Harvengius, a learned abbot, and several other men of genius and abilities [n]. The effects

[1] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome ix. p. 112.

[m] See Lamberti *Epistola* in Martenne's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 329.

[n] Abelardi *Opera*, p. 228. Paris, 1616, in 4to.—Martenne's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et *Amplissima*

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New monastic orders.

effects and remains of this ancient controversy are yet visible in our times.

XIX. A new society of religious Benedictines arose about the commencement of this century, whose principal monastery was erected in a barren and solitary place, called *Fontevraud*, between Angers and Tours; whence the order derived its name. Robert of *Arbrisselles*, its founder, who had been first an hermit, and afterwards a monk, prescribed to his *religious* of both sexes the rule of St. Benedict, amplified, however, by the addition of several new laws, which were extremely singular and excessively severe. Among other singularities that distinguished this institution, one was, that the several monasteries which Robert had built, within one and the same inclosure, for his monks and nuns, were all subjected to the authority and government of one abbeys; in justification of which measure, the example of Christ was alleged, who recommended St. John to the virgin Mary, and imposed it as an order upon that beloved disciple, to be obedient to her as to his own mother [o]. This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit: the singularity of its discipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it; and thus

plissima ejusdem Collectio, tom. ix. p. 971. 972.—Phil. Harvengii *Opera*, p. 385. Duaci 1621, in folio.

[o] See the Works of Abelard, p. 48. whose testimony in this matter is confirmed by the present state and constitution of this famous order; though Mabillon, from an excessive partiality in favour of the Benedictines, has endeavoured to diminish its credit in his *Annal. Benedic.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of Robert and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Februar.* p. 593.—Dion, Sammarthani *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311.—Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Fontevraud.—Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vi. p. 83.—The present state of this monastery is described by Moleon, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108. and by Martenne, in the second part of his *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*.

the

the labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable success. [¶ But the association of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the same community, was an imprudent measure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniences. However that may be, Robert continued his pious labours, and the odour of his sanctity perfumed all the places where he exercised his ministry.] He was, indeed, suspected by some, of too great an intimacy with his female disciples; and it was rumoured, that in order to try his virtue, by opposing it to the strongest temptations, he exposed it to an inevitable defeat by the manner in which he conversed with these holy virgins. It was affirmed, that their commerce was softened by something more tender than divine love; against which charge his disciples have used their most zealous endeavours to defend their master [p].

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XX. Norbert, a German nobleman, who took holy orders, and was afterwards archbishop of *Magdebourg*, employed his most strenuous efforts to restore to its primitive severity the dis-

The order
of Premon-
stra.

[p] See the letters of Geoffry, abbot of *Vendôme*, and of Marbod, bishop of *Rennes*; in which Robert is accused of lying in the same bed with the nuns. How the grave abbot was defended against this accusation by the members of his order, may be seen in *Mainserme's Clypeus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebaldensis*, published in 8vo. at *Paris*, in the year 1684; and also by another production of the same author, entitled, *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello*, *Salerni*, 1682, in 8vo. Bayle's account of this famous abbot, in which there is such an admirable mixture of wit, sense, and malice, has been also attacked by several writers: see, among other works, the 6th and 6th tomes of *Mabillon's Annals*, and the *Dissertation Apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbrissel*, sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle, *Anvers* 1701, in 8vo.

In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought to *Worcester* at the desire of Henry II. who gave them the *Worcester* in *Wiltshire*. They had two other *Worcester*, the other at *Westwood*, in *Worcester*.

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cipline of the *regular canons*, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost totally abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the *Order of Premontré in Picardy*, whose fame spread throughout Europe with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became excessive and enormous [7], in consequence of the high esteem which the monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their assiduous application to the liberal arts and sciences. But their overgrown prosperity was the source of their ruin; it soon diminished their zeal for the exercises of devotion, extinguished their thirst after useful knowledge, and thus gradually plunged them into all kinds of vice. The rule which they followed, was that of St. Augustin, with some slight alterations, and an addition of certain severe laws, whose authority, however, did not long survive their austere founder [r].

XXI. About

[7] The *religious* of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning, and sent to *Laon* in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that, thirty years after the foundation of this order, they had above a hundred abbeys in *France* and *Germany*. In process of time, the order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of *Christendom*, amounting to 1000 abbeys, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in Protestant countries, of sixty-five abbeys, that they had in *Italy*, there is not one now remaining.

[r] See Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome ii. p. 156. — Chrysoft. Vander Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensis Patriarchæ*, published in 8vo, at *Antwerp*, in 1656. — Louis Hughes, *Vie de S. Norbert*, *Luxemb.* 1704, in 4to. — Add to these, notwithstanding his partiality, Jo. Launoy, *Inquist. in Privilegia Ordinis Præmonstrat.* cap. i, &c. Oper. tom. iii. part I. p. 428. For an account of the present state of the *Order of Premontré*, see Martenne's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 39.

The

XXI. About the middle of this century, a Calabrian, whose name was Berthold, set out with a few companions for mount *Carmel*, and, upon the very spot where the prophet Elias is said to have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude, austeri-ty, and labour. This little colony subsisted, and the places of those that died were more than filled by new-comers; so that it was, at length [1], erected into a monastic community by Albert, patriarch of *Jerusalem*. This austere prelate drew up, for the new monks, a rule of discipline, which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiffs; who modified and altered it in several respects, and, among other corrections, mitigated its excessive rigour [2]. Such was the origin of the famous *Order of Carmelites*, or, as they are commonly called, of the *Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel*, which was afterwards transplanted from *Syria* into *Europe*, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders. It is true, the Carmelites reject, with the highest indignation,

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✂ The *Premonstratenses*, or monks of *Premontre*, vulgarly called *White Canons*, came first into *England* in the year 1146. Their first monastery, called *New House*, was built in *Lincolnshire*, by *Peter de Saulia*, and dedicated to *St. Martial*. In the reign of *Edward I.* the order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in *England*.

[1] In the year 1205.

[2] I have here principally followed *Dan. Papebroch*, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce sufficient testimonies of the truth of his narrations. See the *Acta Sanctorum Antwerp. Mense April.* tom. iii. p. 774.—82. It is well known, that an accusation was brought against this learned Jesuit, before the tribunal of the pope, by the Carmelites, on account of his having called in question the dignity and high antiquity of their order. We have in *Helvyot's Hist. des Ordres*, (tome i. p. 282) an account of this long and tedious contest, which was so far determined, or at least suspended, in the year 1698, by *Innocent XII.* that silence was imposed on contending parties.

CENT. XII. PART II. an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet Elias was the parent and founder of their ancient community [u]. Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of the establishment, except the members of the order; and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost contempt [w]. [o] And scarcely, indeed, can any thing be more ridiculous than the circumstantial narrations of the occasion, origin, founder, and revolutions of this famous order, which we find in several ecclesiastical authors, whose zeal for this fraternity has rendered them capable of adopting without reluctance, or, at least, of reciting without shame, the most puerile and glaring absurdities. They tell us, that Elias was introduced into the state of monachism by the ministry of angels; that his first disciples were Jonah, Micah, and also Obadiah, whose wife, in order to shake off an importunate crowd of lovers, who fluttered about her at the court of Ahab after the departure of her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity, received the veil from the hands of *father* Elias, and thus became the first abbess of the Carmelite order. They enter into a minute detail of the circumstances that relate to the rules of discipline which were drawn up for this community, the habit which distinguished

[u] The most concise and accurate of all the Carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is Thomas Aquinas, a French monk, in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchatus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Elie vindicatur*, published in 8vo. at Paris in the year 1632. The modern writers who have maintained the cause of the Carmelites against Papebroch, are extremely prolix and tiresome.

[w] See Harduini *Opera Posthum.* p. 6; 2.—Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tome iii. p. 87.—Courayer, *Énumération des Défauts Théologiques*, tome i. p. 455.

its members, and the various alterations which were successively introduced into their rule of discipline. They observe, that, among other marks which were used to distinguish the Carmelites from the seculars, the *tonsure* was one; that this mark of distinction exposed them, indeed, to the mockeries of a profane multitude; and that this furnishes the true explication of the term *bald-head*, which the children addressed, by way of reproach, to Elisha as he was on his way to *Carmel* [*x*]. They also affirm, that Pythagoras was a member of this ancient order; that he drew all his wisdom from mount *Carmel*, and had several conversations with the prophet Daniel at *Babylon*, upon the subject of the Trinity. They even go farther into the region of fable, and assert, that the Virgin Mary, and Jesus himself, assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment [*y*.]

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[*x*] See 2 Kings ii. 23.

[*y*] For an ample account of all the absurd inventions here hinted at, see a very remarkable work entitled "*Ordres Monastiques, Histoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conservé a la Postérité ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque Ordre, enrichie d'un très grand nombre de passages des memes Auteurs, pour servir de demonstration que ce qu'on y avance est également veritable et curieux.*" This work, which was first printed at *Paris* in 1751, under the title of *Berlin*, and which was suppressed almost as soon as it appeared, is written with great wit, eloquence, and learning; and all the narrations it contains are confirmed by citations from the most eminent authors, who have given accounts of the religious orders. The author's view seems to have been to expose the monks of every denomination to the laughter of his readers; and it is very remarkable, that, in the execution of his purpose, he has drawn his materials from the gravest writers, and from the most zealous defenders of monachism. If he has embellished his subject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty elegance of his style,

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Greek writ-
ers.

XXII. To this brief account of the religious orders, it will not be amiss to add a list of the principal Greek and Latin writers that flourished in this century. The most eminent among the Greeks were those that follow :

Philippus Solitarius, whose *Dioptra*, or controversy between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known ;

Eustratius, who maintained the cause of the Greek church against the Latins with great learning and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of Aristotle ;

Euthymius Zigabenus, who, by his *Anti-heretical Panoply*, together with his commentaries upon several parts of the sacred writings, acquired a place among the principal authors of this century [z] ;

Johannes Zonaras, whose *Annals*, with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant ;

Michael Glycas, who also applied himself to historical composition, as well as to other branches of learning [a] ;

Constantius Harmenopulus, whose commentaries on the civil and canon laws are deservedly esteemed ;

style, and not by imputing to the monastic communities any practices which their most serious historians omit or disavow. The authors of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, at the *Hague*, have given several interesting extracts from this work in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of that literary journal.

☞ The Carmelites came into *England* in the year 1240, and erected a vast number of monasteries in that kingdom. See Broughton's *Historical Library*, vol. i. p. 208.

[z] See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par M. Du Pin, tome i. p. 318. 324.

[a] Other historians place Glycas in the fifteenth century. See Lami *Dissertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the first volume of his *De iure Fisci tractatum*.

Andronicus

Andronicus Camaterus, who wrote with great warmth and vehemence against the Latins and Armenians;

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Eustathius, bishop of *Thessalonica*, the most learned of the Greeks in this century, and the celebrated commentator upon the *Iliad*;

Theodorus Balsamon, who employed great diligence, erudition and labour, in explaining and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks [b].

XXIII. The most eminent among the Latin writers were, Latin writers.

Bernard, abbot of *Clairval*, from whom the Cistercian monks (as has been already observed) derived the title of *Bernardines*; a man who was not destitute of genius and taste, and whose judgment, in many respects, was just and penetrating; but who, on the other hand, discovered in his conduct many marks of superstition and weakness, and what is still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the mask of piety, and made no scruple of loading, with false accusations, such as had the misfortune to incur his displeasure [c];

Innocent III. bishop of *Rome*, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religious sentiments, as also the discipline and morals, that prevailed in this century [d];

Anselm, of *Iaon*, a man of a subtle genius, and deeply versed in logical disquisition;

[b] See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

[c] The learned Mabillon has given a splendid edition of the works of St. Bernard, and has not only, in his preface, made many excellent observations upon the life and history of this famous abbot, but has also subjoined to his works the accounts that have been given, by the ancient writers, of his life and actions.

[d] The Epistles of Innocent III. were published at *Paris*, in two large volumes in folio, by Baluze, in the year 1718.

Abelard,

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Abelard, the disciple of Anselm, and most famous in this century, on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the severity of his fate [e];

Geoffrey of Vendome, whose *Epistles* and *Dissertations* are yet extant;

Rupert of Duytz, the most eminent, perhaps, of all the scriptural expositors who flourished among the Latins during this century, a man of a sound judgment and an elegant taste [f];

Hugh of St. Victor, a man distinguished by the fecundity of his genius, who treated of all the branches of sacred and profane erudition that were known in his time, and composed several dissertations that are not destitute of merit [g];

Richard of St. Victor, who was at the head of the Mystics in this century, and whose treatise, entitled, *The Mystical Ark*, which contains, as it were, the marrow of that kind of theology, was received with the greatest avidity, and applauded by the fanatics of the times [b].

[e] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the articles Abelard and Paraclet.—Gervais, *Vie de Pierre Abeillard, Abbé de Ruys, et de Heloise*, published at Paris in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were published at Paris in 1616, in one volume 4to, by Franc. Amboise. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, since there are a great number of the productions of Abelard that have never yet seen the light.

[f] See Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 19. 42. 144. 168. 261. 282. 296. He gives an ample account of Rupert, and of the disputes in which he was involved.

[g] See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. The works of this learned man were published at Rome, in three folio volumes, in the year 1648. See, for a farther account of him, Derlangii *Dissert. de Hugone a S. Victore, Helmstedt*, 1746, in 4to, and Martenne's *Voyage Littéraire*, tome ii. p. 91, 92.

[b] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

Honorius

Honorius of *Autun* [*i*], no mean philosopher, and tolerably versed in theological learning;

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Gratian, a learned monk, who reduced the canon law into a new and regular form, in his vast compilation of the decisions of the ancient and modern councils, the decretals of the pontiffs, the capitularies of the kings of *France*, &c.;

William of *Rheims*, the author of several productions, calculated to excite pious sentiments, and contribute to the progress of practical religion;

Peter Lombard, who was commonly called, in *France*, *Master of the Sentences*, because he had composed a work so entitled, which was a collection of opinions and sentences relative to the various branches of theology, extracted from the Latin doctors, and reduced into a sort of system [*k*];

Gilbert de la Porrée [*l*], a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning *the Divine Essence, the Incarnation, and the Trinity* [*m*];

William of *Auxerre*, who acquired a considerable reputation by his *Theological System* [*n*];

Peter of *Blois* [*o*], whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit;

[*i*] Such is the place to which Honorius is said to have belonged. But Le Boeuf proves him to have been a German, in his *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Française*, tome i. p. 254.

[*k*] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

[*l*] Called, in Latin, Gilbertus Porretanus.

[*m*] He held, among other things, this trifling and sophistical proposition, that *the divine essence and attributes are not God*; a proposition that was every way proper to exercise the quibbling spirit of the scholastic writers.

[*n*] Le Boeuf, *Dissert. sur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in Molat's *Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Literature*, tome iii. part II. p. 317.

[*o*] Petrus Blesensis.

John

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John of *Salisbury*, a man of great learning and true genius, whose philosophical and theological knowledge was adorned with a lively wit and a flowing eloquence, as appears in his *Metalogicus*; and his book *de Nugis Curialium*;

Petrus Comestor, author of *An Abridgement of the Old and New Testament*, which was used in the schools for the instruction of the youth, and called (probably from that circumstance) *Historia Scholastica*.

A more ample account of the names and characters of the Latin writers may be found in those authors who have professedly treated of that branch of literature.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian church in this century,

Christianity
corrupted
more and
more.

I. **W**HEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprising, that the religion of Jesus was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The popes led the way; they would not suffer any doctrines to prevail that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was so much the more terrible, as those who refused to comply with it, and to force the words of scripture

Scripture into significations totally opposite to the intention of its divine author, (such, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman pontiffs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct,) were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword, and received death in the most cruel forms, as the fruit of their sincerity and resolution. The priests and monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion; and, finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance and darkness, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily austerities and exercises, and particularly in a blind and stupid veneration for the clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients, and the precepts of the Dialecticians as the great rule and criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, undermined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth in the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, running into the opposite extreme, maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be moved by a *divine impulse*; and thus, not only set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality, if they did not in some measure deny its very existence.

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II. The consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which were substituted for true religion, and reigned over the multitude with an universal sway. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of Christ, and were supposed by many to be more effectual, than the prayers offered to heaven, through the media-

Superstition
reigns
among the
multitude.

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tion and intercession of that divine Redeemer [p]. The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were considered as the happiest of all mortals, and as the most intimate friends of the Most High; while they, whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services in which beasts of burthen are usually employed (such as carrying stones and drawing waggons), and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful efforts of misguided zeal [q]. The saints had a greater number of worshipers, than the Supreme Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did these superstitious worshipers trouble their heads about that knotty question, which occasioned much debate and many laborious disquisitions in succeeding times, viz. *How the inhabitants of heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed to them from the earth?* This question was prevented in this century by an opinion, which the Christians had received from their Pagan ancestors, that the inhabitants of heaven descended often from above, and frequented the places in which they had formerly taken pleasure during their residence upon earth [r]. To finish the horrid portrait

[p] See Guibert de Novigento, *de Pignoribus* (so were relics called) *Sanctorum*, in his *Works* published by d'Acheri, p. 327. where he attacks, with judgement and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

[q] See Haymon's Treatise concerning this custom, published by Mabillon, at the end of the sixth tome of his *Annal. Benedic.* See also those *Annals*, p. 392.

[r] As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the *Life of St. Altman, bishop of Padua*, as it stands in Seb. Tengnagel's

portrait of superstition, we shall only observe, that the stupid credulity of the people in this century went so far, that when any persons, either through the phrensy of a disordered imagination, or with an intention of deceiving, published the dreams or visions, which they *fancied* or *pretended* they had from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who in this way was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears (to mention no other examples) from the extraordinary reputation which the two famous prophetesses Hildegard, abbess of *Bingen*, and Elizabeth of *Schonaue*, obtained in *Germany* [*s*].

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III. The general prevalence of ignorance and superstition was dexterously, yet basely improved, by the rulers of the church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purses of the deluded multitude: indeed each rank and order of the clergy had a peculiar method of fleecing the people. The bishops, when they wanted money for their private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the church, granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes; or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal orders, and

The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops.

ragel's *CollecB. Vet. Monumentor.* p. 41. "Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescat. . . haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere."

[*s*] See Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431. 529. 554.

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enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute the most difficult schemes for the enlargement of their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred edifices, which augmented considerably the external pomp and splendour of the church [t]. The *abbots* and *monks*, who were not qualified to grant *indulgences*, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the carcases and relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace, at fixed prices, these sacred and lucrative remains. The monastic orders often gained as much by this raree-show, as the bishops did by their indulgences [u].

And afterwards monopolized by the Roman pontiffs.

IV. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of Rome became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published not only a general, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary*

[t] Stephanus Obazin us in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 130.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

[u] We find in the records of this century innumerable examples of this method of extorting contributions from the multitude. See the *Chronicon Centulense* in Dacherii *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 354.—*Vita Ste. Romanæ*, ibid. p. 137.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 332. 644.—*Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*, tom. vii. p. 533. where we have an account of a long journey made by the relics of *St. Marculus*. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 519, 520. and tom. ii. p. 732.

remission

remission of the *temporal* pains and penalties, annexed by the church to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step which the bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take [*w*].

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The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and shed abroad their *indulgences*, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of *Palestine*; but, in process of time, the charm of indulgence was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence, and merely with a view to base lucre [*x*]. Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient *canonical* and *ecclesiastical discipline of penance*, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the *penitentials* [*y*], by which the reins were let loose to every kind of vice. Such proceedings stood much in need of a plausible defence; but this was impossible. To vindicate in an authoritative manner these scandalous

[*w*] Morinus, *de administratione sacramenti penitentis*, lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xxii. p. 768. — Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tome iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371. — Mabillon, *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor. Sac. v. Acta Sanctor. Benedict.* p. 54. not to speak of the prote-
stant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

[*x*] Mutatori, *Antiq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 761. — Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60. — Theod. Ruinart *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231. tom. iii. Op. Posthum.

[*y*] The *Penitential* was a book, in which the degrees and kinds of penance, that were annexed to different crimes, were registered.

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measures of the pontiffs, an absurd and even monstrous doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the succeeding century, and which contained among others the following enormities: "That there actually existed "an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the "pious deeds, and virtuous actions, which the "saints had performed *beyond what was necessary* "for their own salvation [z], and which were "therefore applicable to the benefit of others; "that the guardian and dispenser of this precious "treasure was the Roman pontiff; and that consequently he was empowered to *assign*, to such "as he deemed proper objects, a *portion* of this "inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their "respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them "from the punishment due to their crimes." It is a most deplorable mark of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should yet be retained and defended in the church of *Rome* [a].

The expositors and commentators of this century.

V. Nothing was more common in this century than expositors and interpreters of the sacred writings; but nothing was so rare, as to find, in that class of authors, the qualifications that are essentially required in a good commentator. Few of these expositors were attentive to search after the true signification of the words employed by

✠ [z] These works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

✠ [a] For a satisfactory and ample account of the enormous doctrine of indulgences, see a very learned and judicious work, entitled, *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, published in the year 1751, in three volumes 8vo. by the Reverend Mr. Chais, minister of the French church in the *Hague*, on occasion of the universal *Jubilee* celebrated at *Rome* in the preceding year, by the order of Benedict XIV. In the 2d volume of this excellent work, which we shall have frequent occasion to consult in the course of this history a clear account and a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine may be found, with the history of that monstrous practice from its origin to the present times.

the

the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of Euthymius Zigabenus, an eminent expositor among the Greeks, upon the *Psalms*, *Gospels* and *Epistles*; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that this writer follows, in some places, the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occasions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give several examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, such as the *Lucubrations* of Peter Lombard, Gilbert de la Porrée, and the famous Abelard, upon the *Psalms* of David, and the *Epistles* of St. Paul. Nor do those Latin commentators who expounded the whole of the sacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expositors of this age, (such as Gilbert, bishop of London, surnamed the *Universal*, on account of the vast extent of his erudition [b], and Hervey [c], a most studious Benedictine monk) deserve a higher place in our esteem, than the authors before mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are Ru-

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[b] For an account of this prelate, see Le Bœuf, *Memoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 486.

[c] An ample account of this learned Benedictine is to be found in Gabr. Liron's *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tome iii. p. 29.—See also Mabillon, *Annales Benedicte*, tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

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pert of *Duytz*, and *Anselm of Laon*; the former of whom expounded several books of scripture, and the latter composed, or rather compiled, a *glossary upon the sacred writings*. As to those doctors who were not carried away by an enthusiastical veneration for the ancients, who had courage enough to try their own talents, and to follow the dictates of their own sagacity, they were chargeable with defects of another kind; for, disregarding and overlooking the beautiful simplicity of divine truth, they were perpetually bent on the search of all sorts of mysteries in the sacred writings, and were constantly on the scent after some hidden meaning in the plainest expressions of scripture. The *Mystics* excelled peculiarly in this manner of expounding; and, by their violent explications, forced the word of God into a conformity with their visionary doctrines, their enthusiastic feelings, and the system of discipline which they had drawn from the excursions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the commentators, who pretended to logic and philosophy, and who, in effect, had applied themselves to these profound sciences, free from the contagion of *mysticism* in their explications of scripture. That they followed the example of those fanatics may be seen by the *Allegorical Exposition* which *Hugh of St. Victor* gave of the Old and New Testament, by the *Mystical Ark* of *Richard of St. Victor*, and by the *Mystical Commentaries* of *Guibert*, abbot of *Nogent*, on *Obadiah*, *Hosea*, and *Amos* [d]; not to mention several other writers, who seem to have been animated by the same spirit.

The manner of teaching theology that now prevailed.

VI. The most eminent teachers of theology resided at *Paris*, which city was, from this time forward, frequented by students of divinity

[d] The *Prologus in Abdiam* was published by *Mabillon*, in his *Annales Benedicte*. tom. vi. p. 637.

from

from all parts of *Europe*, who resorted thither in crowds, to receive instruction from these celebrated masters. The French divines were divided into different sects. The first of these sects, who were distinguished by the title of *The Ancient Theologians*, explained the doctrines of religion, in a plain and simple manner, by passages drawn from the holy scriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made use of the succours of reason or philosophy in their theological lectures. In this class we place St. Bernard, Peter surnamed the *Chanter*, Walter of St. Victor, and other theologians, who declared an open and bitter war against the *philosophical divines*. The doctors, who were afterwards known by the name of *positive* and *sententiary* teachers of religion, were not, in all respects, different from these now mentioned. Imitating the examples of Anselm, archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lanfranc, Hildebert, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their system of theology, principally by collecting the decisions of the inspired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the same time they were far from rejecting the succours of reason, and the discussions of philosophy, to which they more especially had recourse, when difficulties were to be solved, and adversaries to be refuted, but, in the application of which, all did not discover the same degree of moderation and prudence. Hugh of St. Victor is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity, digested into a regular system. His example was followed by many; but no one acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as Peter, bishop of *Paris*, surnamed Lombard from the country which gave him birth. *The Four Books*
of

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of *Sentences* of this eminent prelate, which appeared in the year 1162 [e], were not only received with general applause, but acquired also such a high degree of authority, as induced the most learned doctors in all places to employ their labours in illustrating and expounding them. Scarcely was there any divine of note that did not undertake this popular task, except Henry of Ghent, and a few others [f]; so that Lombard, who was commonly called *Master of the Sentences*, on account of the famous work now mentioned, became truly a classic author in divinity [g].

The scholastics properly so called.

VII. The followers of Lombard, who were called *Sententiarii*, though their manner of teaching was defective in some respects, and not altogether exempt from vain and trivial questions, were always attentive to avoid entering too far into the subtilties of the Dialecticians, nor did they presumptuously attempt to submit the divine truths of the gospel to the uncertain and

[e] Erpoldi Lindenbrogii *Scriptores Rerum Septentrionalium*, p. 250.

[f] A list of the commentators who laboured in explaining the *Sentences* of Lombard, is given by Anton. Possevinus, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.

[g] The *Book of Sentences*, which rendered the name of Peter Lombard so illustrious, was a compilation of sentences and passages drawn from the fathers, whose manifold contradictions this eminent prelate endeavoured to reconcile. His work may be considered as a complete body of divinity. It consists of four books, each of which is subdivided into various chapters and sections. In the first he treats of the *Trinity*, and the *Divine Attributes*; in the second, of the *Creation in general*, of the *Origin of Angels*, the *Formation and Fall of Man*, of *Grace* and *Free Will*, of *Original Sin* and *Actual Transgression*; in the third, of the *Incarnation*, and *Perfections of Jesus Christ*, of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, of the *Gifts of the Spirit*, and the *Commandments of God*. The *Sacraments*, the *Resurrection*, the *Last Judgment*, and the *State of the Righteous in Heaven*, are the subjects treated in the fourth and last book of this celebrated work, which was the wonder of the twelfth century, but is little more than an object of contempt in ours.

obscure

obscure principles of a refined and intricate logic, which was rather founded on the excursions of fancy than on the true nature of things. They had for contemporaries another set of theologians, who were far from imitating their moderation and prudence in this respect; a set of subtle doctors, who taught the plain and simple truths of Christianity, in the obscure terms, and with the perplexing distinctions, used by the Dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened with their unintelligible jargon, the sublime precepts of that wisdom which emanates from above. This method of teaching theology, which was afterwards called the *scholastic* system, because it was in general use in the schools, had for its author, Peter Abelard, a man of the most subtle genius, whose public lectures in philosophy and divinity had raised him to the highest summit of literary renown, and who was successively canon of *Paris*, and monk and abbot of *Ruys* [b]. The fame he acquired by this new method engaged many ambitious divines to adopt it; and, in a short space of time, the followers of Abelard multiplied prodigiously, not only in *France*, but also in *England* and *Italy*. Thus was the pure and peaceable wisdom of the gospel perverted into a science of mere sophistry and chicanery; for these subtle doctors never explained or illustrated any subject, but, on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest expressions, and the most evident truths, by their laboured and useless distinctions, fatigued both themselves and others with unintelligible solutions of abstruse and frivolous questions, and, through a rage for disputing, maintained with equal vehemence and ardour the

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[b] Abelard acknowledges this himself, *Epist.* i. cap. ix. p. 20. *Oper.*—See also Launoy, *de Schollis Caroli M.* p. 67. cap. lix. tom. iv. op. part I.

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The Christian doctors divided into two classes, called *biblici* and *scholastica*.

opposite sides of the most serious and momentous questions [i].

VIII. From this period, therefore, an important distinction was made between the Christian doctors, who were divided into two classes. In the first class were placed those, who were called by the various names of *biblici*, i. e. bible-doctors, *dogmatici*, and *positivi*, i. e. didactic divines, and also *veteres*, or ancients; and in the second were ranged the *scholastics*, who were also distinguished by the titles of *Sententiarii*, after the *Master of the Sentences*, and *Novi*, to express their recent origin. The *former* expounded, though in a wretched manner, the sacred writings in their public schools, illustrated the doctrines of Christianity, without deriving any succours from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. The *latter* expounded, instead of the Bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their subtle philosophy, whatever the gospel proposed as an object of faith, or a rule of practice; and perplexed and obscured its divine doctrines and precepts by a multitude of vain questions and idle speculations [k]. The method of the *scholastics* exhibited a pompous aspect of learning, and these disputants seemed to surpass their adversaries in sagacity and genius; hence they excited the admiration of the studious youth, who flocked to their schools in multitudes, while the *biblici* or *doctors of the sacred page*, as they were also called, had the mortification to see their auditories unfre-

[i] Cæf. Egasse de Boulay, *Hiflor. Acad. Parif.* tom. ii. p. 201. 583.—Anton. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 58. —Launoy, *de varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Parif.* cap. iii. p. 187. *Edit. Elfwickii, Vitem.* 1720, in 8vo.

[k] See Boulay, *Hiflor. Acad. Parif.* tom. iii. p. 657,

quented,

quented, and almost deserted [1]. The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of Luther.

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IX. It must, however, be observed, that these metaphysical divines had many difficulties to encounter, and much opposition to overcome, before they could obtain that boundless authority in the European schools, which they so long enjoyed. They were attacked from different quarters; on the one hand, by the *ancient divines*, or bible doctors; on the other, by the *mystics*, who considered true wisdom and knowledge as unattainable by study or reasoning, and as the fruit of mere contemplation, inward feeling, and a passive acquiescence in divine influences. Thus that ancient conflict between *faith* and *reason*, that had formerly divided the Latin doctors, and had been for many years hushed in silence, was now unhappily revived, and produced various tumults, and bitter dissensions. The patrons of the ancient theology, who attacked the schoolmen, were

The scholastic divines opposed from different quarters.

[1] The *Book of Sentences* seemed to be at this time in much greater repute, than the Holy Scriptures; and the compilations of Peter Lombard were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of Jesus Christ. This appears evident from the following remarkable passage in Roger Bacon's *Op. Maj. ad Clementem IV. Pontif. Rom.* published in 1733 at London, by Sam. Jebb, from the original MSS. "Baccalaureus qui legit textum (*scriptura*) succumbit lectori sententiarum, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et præfertur: nam ille, qui legit sententias, habet principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et socium et cameram apud religiosos: sed qui legit Bibliam, caret his, et mendicat horam legendi secundum quod placet lectori sententiarum: et qui legit summas, disputat ubique et pro magistro habetur; reliquus qui textum legit, non potest disputare, sicut fuit hoc anno Bononiæ, et in multis aliis locis, quod est absurdum: manifestum est igitur, quod textus illius facultatis (*sc. Theologicæ*) subjicitur uni summæ magistrali." Such was now the authority of the scholastic theology, as appears from the words of Bacon, who lived in the following century, and in whose writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.

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Guibert, abbot of *Nogent* [*m*], Peter abbot of *Mouftier-la-Celle* [*n*], Peter the Chanter [*o*], and principally Walter of St. Victor [*p*]. The mystics also sent forth into the field of controversy, upon this occasion, their ablest and most violent champions, such as Joachim abbot of *Flori*, Richard of St. Victor, who loaded with invectives the scholastic divines, and more especially Lombard, though he was, undoubtedly, the most candid and modest doctor of that subtle tribe. These dissensions and contests, whose deplorable effects augmented from day to day, engaged pope Alexander III. to interpose his authority, in order to restore tranquillity and concord in the church. For this purpose he convoked a solemn and numerous assembly of the clergy in the year 1164, [*q*], in which the licentious rage of religious disputation was condemned; and another in 1179, in which some particular errors of Peter Lombard were pointed out and censured [*r*].

And principally by St. Bernard.

X. But of all the adversaries that assailed the scholastic divines in this century, no one was so formidable as the famous St. Bernard, whose zeal was ardent beyond all expression, and whose influence and authority were equal to his zeal. And, accordingly, we find this illustrious abbot

[*m*] In his *Tropologia in Oseam*, p. 203. Op.

[*n*] *Opuscul.* p. 277. 396. edit. *Benedict.*

[*o*] In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7, published at Mons in the year 1639, in 4to, by George Galopin.

[*p*] In his *Libri iv. contra Quatuor Francie Labyrinthos et novos Hereticos*. He called *Abelard*, *Gilbert de la Porrée*, *Lombard*, and *Peter of Poitiers*, who were the principal scholastic divines of this century, the four *Labyrinths of France*. For an account of this work, which is yet in manuscript, see Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 619. 659.

[*q*] Ant. Pagi, *Critic. in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad A. 1164, p. 614, 615.

[*r*] Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 115.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

combating

combating the Dialecticians, not only in his writings and his conversation, but also by his deeds; arming against them synods and councils, the decrees of the church, and the laws of the state. The renowned Abelard, who was as much superior to St. Bernard in sagacity and erudition, as he was his inferior in credit and authority, was one of the first who felt, by a bitter experience, the aversion of the lordly abbot to the scholastic doctors: for, in the year 1121, he was called before the council of *Soissons*, and before that of *Sens* in 1140; in both of which assemblies he was accused by St. Bernard of the most pernicious errors, and was finally condemned as an egregious heretic [1]. The charge brought against this subtle and learned monk was, that he had notoriously corrupted the doctrine of the Trinity, blasphemed against the majesty of the Holy Ghost, entertained unworthy and false conceptions of the person and offices of Christ, and the union of the two natures in him, denied the necessity of the divine grace to render us virtuous; and, in a word, that his doctrines struck at the fundamental principles of all religion. It must be confessed, by those who are acquainted with the writings of Abelard, that he expressed himself in a very singular and incongruous manner upon several points of theology [2]; and this, indeed, is one of the inconveniences to

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[1] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the Article Abelard.—Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Héloïse*.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 395.—Martenne, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. p. 1139.

[2] He affirmed, for example, among other things equally unintelligible and extravagant, that the names, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, were improper terms, and were only used to express the *fullness of the sovereign good*; that the *Father* was the *plenitude of power*, the *Son* a *certain power*, and the *Holy Ghost* no power at all; that the *Holy Ghost* was the *soul of the world*, with other crude fancies of a like nature, mingled, however, with bold truths.

which

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which subtle refinements upon mysterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand, that St. Bernard, who had much more genius than logic, misunderstood some of the opinions of Abelard, and wilfully perverted others: for the zeal of this good abbot too rarely permitted him to consult in his decisions the dictates of impartial equity; and hence it was, that he almost always applauded beyond measure, and censured without mercy [u].

XI. Abelard was not the only scholastic divine who paid dear for his metaphysical refinement upon the doctrines of the gospel, and whose logic exposed him to the unrelenting fury of persecution; Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of *Poitiers*, who had taught theology and philosophy at *Paris*, and in other places, with the highest applause, met with the same fate. Unfortunately for him, Arnold and Calo, two of his archdeacons, who had been educated in the principles of the ancient theology, heard him one day disputing, with more subtilty than was meet, of the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blasphemy against him before pope Eugenius III. who was at that time in *France*; and to give weight to their accusation, they engaged St. Bernard in their cause. The zealous abbot treated the matter with his usual

[u] See Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard*, tome ii. p. 162.—Le Clerc. *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tome ix. p. 352.—Dionys. Petav. *Dogmata Theolog.* tom. i. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 217. as also the works of Bernard, *passim*. Abelard, who, notwithstanding all his crude notions, was a man of true genius, was undoubtedly worthy of a better fate than that which fell to his lot, and of a more enlightened age than that in which he lived. After passing through the furnace of persecution, and having suffered afflictions of various kinds, of which he has transmitted the history to posterity, he retired to the monastery of *Clugny*, where he ended his days in the year 1142.

vehemence,

vehemence, and opposed Gilbert with the utmost severity and bitterness, first in the council of *Paris*, A.D. 1147, and afterwards in that which was assembled at *Rheims* the year following. In the latter council the accused bishop, in order to put an end to the dispute, offered to submit his opinions to the judgment of the assembly, and of the Roman pontiff, by whom they were condemned. The errors attributed to Gilbert were the fruits of an excessive subtilty, and of an extravagant passion for reducing the doctrines of Christianity under the empire of metaphysics and dialectics. He distinguished the divine *essence* from the *Deity*, the *properties* of the three divine persons from the *persons* themselves, not in reality, but by abstraction, in *statu rationis*, as the metaphysicians speak; and, in consequence of these distinctions, he denied the incarnation of the divine nature. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather vain, fanciful, and adapted to excite surprise by their novelty, than glaringly false, or really pernicious. These refined notions were far above the comprehension of good St. Bernard, who was by no means accustomed to such profound disquisitions, to such intricate researches [*w*].

XII. The important science of morality was not now in a very flourishing state, as may be easily imagined when we consider the genius and spirit of that philosophy, which, in this century, reduced all the other sciences under its dominion, and of which we have given some account in the preceding sections. The only moral writer

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The state
of moral
and practical
theology.

[*w*] See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 223. 232.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedicte*. tom. vi. p. 343. 415. 433.—*Gallia Christiana Benedicte*. tom. ii. p. 1175.—Matth. Paris, *Hyst. Major*, p. 56.—Petavii *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.—Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome ix. p. 147.

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among the Greeks, worthy of mention, is Philip, surnamed the *Solitary*, whose book, entitled *Dioptra*, which consists of a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and contains many things proper to nourish pious and virtuous sentiments.

The Latin moralists of this age may be divided into two classes, the *scholastics* and *mystics*. The former discoursed about virtue, as they did about truth, in the most unfeeling jargon, and generally subjoined their arid system of morals to what they called their *didactic theology*. The latter treated the duties of morality in a quite different manner; their language was tender, persuasive, and affecting, and their sentiments were often beautiful and sublime; but they taught in a confused and irregular manner, without method or precision, and frequently mixed the dross of Platonism with the pure treasures of celestial truth.

We might also place in the class of moral writers the greatest part of the commentators and expositors of this century, who, laying aside all attention to the signification of the words used by the sacred writers, and scarcely ever attempting to illustrate the truths they reveal, or the events which they relate, turned, by forced and allegorical explications, every passage of scripture to practical uses, and drew lessons of morality from every quarter. We could produce many instances of this way of commenting besides Guibert's *Moral Observations on the Book of Job*, the *Prophecy of Amos*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*.

Polemical
writers.

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for dialectical researches, which raged in this century, and were thus rendered extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while, at the same time, the
love

love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal aim was to perplex and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences, embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were Constantinus Harmenopulus, and Euthymius Zigabenus. The former published a short treatise *De Sectis Hæreticorum, i. e.* concerning the *Sects of Heretics*. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the heresies and errors that troubled the church; but, not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his mode of disputation was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whose authority supplied the place of evidence. Both these authors were sharply censured in a satirical poem composed by Zonaras. The Latin writers were also employed in various branches of religious controversy. Honorius of Autun wrote against certain heresies; and Abelard combated them all. The Jews, whose credit was now extremely low, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by Gilbert de Castilione, Odo, Peter Alfonsus, Rupert of Duytz, Peter Mauritius, Richard of St. Victor, and Peter of Blois, according to the logic of the times; while Euthymius and several other divines directed their polemic force against the Saracens.

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PART II.

The con-
tests be-
tween the
Greeks and
Latins con-
tinued.

XIV. The contest between the Greeks and Latins, the subject of which has been already mentioned, was still carried on by both parties with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence. The Grecian champions were Euthymius, Nicetas, and others of less renown; while the cause of the Latins was vigorously maintained by Anselm, bishop of *Havelberg*, and Hugo Etherianus, who eminently distinguished themselves by their erudition in this famous controversy [*]. Many attempts were made both at *Rome* and *Constantinople*, to reconcile these differences and heal these divisions; and this union was solicited, in a particular manner, by the emperors of the Comnene family, who expected to draw great advantage from the friendship and alliance of the Latins, towards the support of the Grecian empire, which was at this time in a declining, and almost in a desperate condition. But as the Latins aimed at nothing less than a despotic supremacy over the Greek church, and as, on the other hand, the Grecian bishops could by no means be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the Roman pontiff, or to condemn the measures and proceedings of their ancestors, the negotiations, undertaken for the restoration of peace, widened the breach instead of healing it; and the terms proposed on both sides, but especially by the Latins, exasperated; instead of calming, the resentments and animosities of the contending parties.

Matters of
less mo-
ment con-
troverted
among the
Greeks.

XV. Many controversies of inferior moment were carried on among the Greeks, who were extremely fond of disputing, and were scarcely ever without debates upon religious matters. We shall not enter into a circumstantial narration of these theological contests, which would

[*] See Leo Allatius, *De perpetua consensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occidentalis*. lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.

fatigue

fatigue rather than amuse or instruct; but shall confine ourselves to a brief mention of those which made the greatest noise in the empire. Under the reign of Emanuel Comnenus, whose extensive learning was accompanied with an excessive curiosity, several theological controversies were carried on, in which he himself bore a principal part, and which fomented such discords and animosities among a people already exhausted and dejected by intestine tumults, as threatened their destruction. The first question that exercised the metaphysical talent of this over-curious emperor and his subtile doctors, was this: *In what sense it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the oblation?* When this knotty question had been long debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a considerable time, the solution of it that was contrary to the opinion generally received, he yielded at length, and embraced the popular notion of that unintelligible subject. The consequence of this step was, that many men of eminent abilities and great credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the church upon this article, were deprived of their honours and employments [y]. What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we are not satisfactorily informed; and we are equally ignorant of the sentiments adopted by the church in this question. It is highly probable that Emanuel, followed by certain learned doctors, differed from the opinions generally received among the Greeks concerning the Lord's supper, and the *oblation* or sacrifice of Christ in that holy ordinance.

XVI. Some years after this, a still more warm contest arose concerning the sense of these words of Christ, *John xiv. 28. For my Father is greater*

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The
Greeks
dispute
concerning
the words
of Christ,
*John xiv.
28.*

[y] Nicetas Choniates, *Annal. Lib. vii. sect. 5. p. 112.*
edit. Venet.

CENT. *than I*, and divided the Greeks into the most
 XII. bitter and deplorable factions. To the ancient
 PART II. explications of that important passage new illustrations were now added; and the emperor himself, who, from an indifferent prince, had become a wretched divine, published an exposition of that remarkable text, which he obtruded, as the only true sense of the words, upon a council assembled for that purpose, and was desirous of having received as a rule of faith by all the Grecian clergy. He maintained that the words in question related to the *flesh that was hidden in Christ, and that was passible, i. e.* subject to suffering [z], and not only ordered this decision to be engraven on tables of stone in the principal church of *Constantinople*, but also published an edict, in which capital punishments were denounced against all such as should presume to oppose this explication, or teach any doctrine repugnant to it [a]. This edict, however, expired with the emperor by whom it was issued; and Andronicus, upon his accession to the imperial throne, prohibited all those contests concerning speculative points of theology, that arose from an irregular and wanton curiosity, and suppressed, in a more particular manner, all inquiry into the subject now mentioned, by enacting the severest penalties against such as should in any way contribute to revive this dispute [b].

Concerning
 the God of
 Mohammed.

XVII. The same theological emperor troubled the church with another controversy concerning the God of Mohammed. The Greek catechisms pronounced *anathema* against the Deity worshipped by that false prophet, whom they represented as a *solid and spherical Being* [c]; for so they trans-

[z] Κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κλίσιν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα.

[a] Nicetas Choniates, *Annal.* lib. vii. sect. 6. p. 113.

[b] Nicetas in *Andronico*, lib. ii. sect. 5. p. 175.

[c] Οὐδὲν φαινος.

lated the Arabian word *elſemed*, which is applied in the *Koran* to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is ſuſceptible of that ſenſe, though it alſo ſignifies *eternal* [*d*]. The emperor ordered this *anathema* to be effaced in the catechiſm of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to thoſe Mohammedans, who had either been already converted to Chriſtianity, or were diſpoſed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely ſhocked at ſuch an inſult offered to the name of God, with whatever reſtrictions and conditions it might be attended. The Chriſtian doctors, on the other hand, oppoſed with reſolution and vehemence this imperial order. They obſerved that the *anathema*, pronounced in the catechiſm, had no relation to the nature of God in general, or to the true God in particular; and that, on the contrary, it was ſolely directed againſt the error of Mohammed, againſt that phantom of a divinity which he had imagined: for that impoſtor pretended that the Deity could neither be *engendered* nor *engender*; whereas the Chriſtians adore God the *Father*. After the bittereſt diſputes concerning this abſtruſe ſubject, and various efforts to reconcile the contending parties, the biſhops, aſſembled in council, conſented, though with the utmoſt difficulty, to transfer the *imprecation* of the catechiſm from the God of Mohammed to the pseudo-prophet himſelf, his doctrine and his ſect [*e*].

XVIII. The ſpirit of controverſy raged among the Latins, as well as among the Greeks; and various ſentiments concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper were propagated, not only in the ſchools, but alſo in the writings of the learned. For though all the doctors of the church were

The controverſy concerning the Lord's ſupper is carried on among the Latins.

[*d*] Reland, *De religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. ſect. 3. p. 142.

[*e*] Nicet. Chon. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

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now extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies to the system of Berenger, yet many of them, and among others [f] Rupert of *Duytz*, differed very little from the sentiments of that great man; at least it is certain, that the famous controversy which had arisen in the church concerning the opinions of Berenger had still left the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist undetermined.

Rupert had also religious contests of another nature with Anselm, bishop of *Laon*, William of *Champeaux*, and their disciples, who maintained their doctrine when they were no more. The *divine will* and the *divine omnipotence* were the subjects of this controversy; and the question debated was, "Whether God *really will- ed*, and *actually produced* all things that exist, " or whether there are certain things whose existence he *merely permits*, and whose production, " instead of being the *effect of his will*, was contrary to it?" The affirmative of the latter part of this question was maintained by Rupert, while his adversaries affirmed that all things were the effects, not only of the *divine power*, but also of the *divine will*. This learned abbot was also accused of having taught that the *angels were formed out of darkness*; that Christ *did not administer his body to Judas, in the last supper*; and several other doctrines [g], contrary to the received opinions of the church.

As also that concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

XIX. These and other controversies of a more private kind, which made little noise in the world, were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one of a more public nature, concerning what was

[f] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 30.

[g] See the Epistle of Mengoz, published by Martenne, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290.—Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 19. 42. 168. 261.

called the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary* [b]. Certain churches in *France* began, about that time, to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended *conception*, which the English had observed before this period in consequence of the exhortations of Anselm, archbishop of *Canterbury*, as some authors report. The church of *Lyons* was one of the first that adopted this new festival, which no sooner came to the knowledge of St. Bernard, than he severely censured the canons on account of this innovation, and opposed the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her being honoured with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the canons of *Lyons*, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. Bernard [i]. The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in subsequent times, when the Dominicans were established in the academy of *Paris*, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated, on both sides, with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. Bernard, while the academy patronized the canons of *Lyons*, and adopted the new festival.

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↪ [b] The defenders of the *Immaculate Conception* maintained, that the Virgin Mary was *conceived* in the womb of her mother with the same *purity* that is attributed to Christ's *conception* in her womb.

[i] Sti. Bernardi *Epistola* 174. tom. i. p. 170.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 135.—Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327.—Dom. Colonia, *Hist. Lit. de la Ville de Lyon*, tome ii. p. 233.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the Church during this century.

C E N T. I.
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PART II.
Rites used
in the
Greek
church.

THE rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks; and the same superstitious passion for the introduction of new observances, discovered itself in all the eastern churches. The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite pontiffs, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by the introduction of some striking change into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age when a due sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety being almost totally lost, the whole care and attention of an ostentatious clergy, and a superstitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and observances that were substituted in their place. Thus some attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the church; others changed the church music; some tortured their inventions to find out some new mark of veneration, that might be offered to the relics and images of the saints; while several ecclesiastics did not disdain to employ their time, with the most serious assiduity, in embellishing the garments of the clergy, and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe, and the looks they were to assume, in the celebration of divine worship.

II. We

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous Rupert, or Robert, of *Duytz*, what were the rites in use among the Latins during this century, as also the reasons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We shall therefore only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity was at this time considerably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her *immaculate conception*: For though, as we observed in the preceding chapter, St. Bernard and others opposed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the superstitious fury of the deluded multitude, whose judgment prevailed over the counsels of the wise; so that, about the year 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour of this pretended *conception*, though we neither know by whose authority it was first established, nor in what place it was first celebrated [k].

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PART II.
The Latin
ritual.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the Church during this century.

I. **T**HE Greek and eastern churches were infested with fanatics of different kinds, who gave them much trouble, and engaged them in the most warm and violent contests. Some

Fanatics of different kinds infest the Greek church.

[k] Mabillon, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412.—*Galila Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

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of these fanatics professed to believe in a double trinity, rejected wedlock, abstained from flesh, treated with the utmost contempt the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, as also all the various branches of external worship; placed the essence of religion in internal prayer alone, and maintained, as it is said, that an evil being, or genius, dwelt in the breast of every mortal, and could be thence expelled by no other method, than by perpetual supplications to the Supreme Being. The founder of this enthusiastical sect is said to have been a person called Lucopetrus. His chief disciple was named Tychicus, who corrupted, by false and fanatical interpretations, several books of the sacred writings, and particularly the *Gospel according to St. Matthew* [1]. It is well known, that enthusiasts of this kind, who were rather wrong-headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, especially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and also in this century. The accounts, indeed, that have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon: and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition which was supported by public authority. In *Greece*, and in all the eastern provinces, these fanatics were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of *Massilians*, or Eu-

[1] See Euthymii *Triumphus de Sc&a Massalianorum*, in Jac. Tollii *Insignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 106.—125.

chites,

chites [*m*], as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontiff under the general terms of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. It is, however, necessary to observe, that the names above-mentioned were very vague and ambiguous in the way they were applied by the Greeks and the Orientals, who made use of them to characterize, without distinction, all such as complained of the multitude of useless ceremonies, and of the vices of the clergy, without any regard to the difference that existed between such persons in point of principles and morals. In short, the righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish, were equally comprehended under the name of *Massalians*, whenever they opposed the raging superstition of the times, or considered true and genuine piety as the essence of the Christian character.

II. From the sect now mentioned, that of the *Bogomiles* is said to have proceeded, whose founder *Basilus*, a monk by profession, was committed to the flames at *Constantinople*, under the reign of *Alexius Comnenus*, after all attempts to make him renounce his errors had proved ineffectual. By the accounts we have of this unhappy man, and of the errors he taught, it appears sufficiently evident,

The Bogomiles.

☞ [*m*] *Massalians* and *Euchites* are denominations that signify the same thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, *persons that pray*. A sect, under this denomination, arose during the reign of the emperor *Constantius*, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of *Mesopotamia*, who dedicated themselves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by *Mosheim* to the *Massalians* of the twelfth century. See *August. de Hæres.* cap. lvii. and *Theod. Hæret. Fab.* lib. iv. *Epiphanius* speaks of another sort of *Massalians* still more ancient, who were mere Gentiles, acknowledged several gods, yet adored only one whom they called *Almighty*, and had oratories in which they assembled to pray and sing hymns. This resemblance between the *Massalians* and the *Essenes*, induced *Scaliger* to think that *Epiphanius* confounded the former with the latter.

that

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that his doctrine resembled, in a striking manner, the religious system of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans; though, at the same time, the Greeks may have falsified his tenets in some respects. Basilus maintained, that the world and all animal bodies were formed, not by the Deity, but by an evil demon, who had been cast down from heaven by the Supreme Being; whence he concluded, that the body was no more than the prison of the immortal spirit, and that it was, therefore, to be enervated by fasting, contemplation, and other exercises, that so the soul might be gradually restored to its primitive liberty; for this purpose also wedlock was to be avoided; with many other circumstances which we have often had occasion to explain and repeat in the course of this history. It was in consequence of the same principles, that this unfortunate enthusiast denied the *reality* of Christ's body (which, like the Gnostics and Manichæans, he considered only as a phantom), rejected the law of Moses, and maintained that the body, upon its separation by death, returned to the malignant mass of matter, without either the prospect or possibility of a future resurrection to life and felicity. We have so many examples of fanatics of this kind in the records of ancient times, and also in the history of this century, that it is by no means to be wondered, that some one of them, more enterprising than the rest, should found a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was taken from the *divine mercy*, which its members are said to have incessantly implored; for the word *bogomilus*, in the Mœsian language, signifies *calling out for mercy from above* [n].

III. The

[n] See the *Alexias* of Anna Comnena, lib. xv. p. 384. edit. Venet.—Zonara's *Annales*, lib. xviii. p. 336.—Jo. Christ-Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum*, published at Wittenberg, in 4to

III. The Latin sects were yet more numerous than those of the Greeks; and this will not appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of religion in the greatest part of the European provinces. As the prevalence of superstition, the vices of the clergy, the luxury and indolence of the pontiffs and bishops, the encouragement of impiety by the traffic of *indulgences*, increased from day to day, several pious, though weak men, who had the true religion of Christ at heart, easily perceived that it was in a most declining and miserable state, and therefore attempted a reformation in the church, in order to restore Christianity to its primitive purity and lustre. But the knowledge of these good men did not equal their zeal; nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greater part of them were destitute both of learning and judgment, and, involved in the general ignorance of the times, very imperfectly understood the holy scriptures, whence Christianity was derived, and by which alone the abuses that had been mingled with it could be reformed. In a word, few of these well-meaning Christians were equal to an attempt so difficult and arduous as an universal reformation; and the consequence of this was, that while they avoided the reigning abuses, they fell into others that were as little consistent with the genius of true religion, and carried the spirit of censure and reformation to such an excessive length, that it degenerated often into the various extravagances of enthusiasm, and engendered a number of new sects, that became a new dishonour to the Christian cause.

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The Latin
sects and
the abuses
whence they
sprang.

1712.—Sam. Andreæ *Diff. de Bogomilis* in Jo. Voigtii *Bibliotheca Historiæ Heresologica*, tom. i. part II. p. 121. Chr. Aug. Heumannii *Dissertat. de Bogomilis*.

IV. Among

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The Cathari.

IV. Among the sects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the *Cathari*, or *Catharists*, whom we have already had occasion to mention [o]. This numerous faction, leaving their first residence, which was in *Bulgaria*, spread themselves throughout almost all the European provinces, where they occasioned much tumult and disorder; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were found, they were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty [p]. Their religion resembled the doctrine of the Manichæans and Gnostics, on which account they commonly received the denomination of the former, though they differed in many respects from the genuine and primitive Manichæans. They all indeed agreed in the following points of doctrine: *viz.* That matter was the source of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that Christ was not clothed with a real body, neither could be properly said to have been born, or to have seen death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle, and were extinguished without the prospect of a new life; and that baptism and the Lord's Supper were useless institutions, destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine, to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the *Old Testament*, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Gospels*;

[o] See Cent. III. Part II. Ch. V. sect. xviii. but principally, for the *Catharists* here mentioned, see Cent. XI. Part II. Ch. V. sect. ii.

[p] See the accounts given of this unhappy and persecuted sect by Charles Plessis D'Argentré, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. in which, however, several circumstances are omitted,

and,

and, to pass over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained, that human souls, endowed with reason, were shut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from which they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind [q].

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V. These principles and tenets, though they were adopted and professed by the whole sect, were variously interpreted and modified by different doctors. Hence the *Catharists* were divided into various sects, which, however, on account of the general persecution in which they were involved, treated each other with candour and forbearance, disputed with moderation, and were thus careful not to augment their common calamity by intestine feuds and animosities. Out of these factions arose two leading and principal sects of the *Catharists*, which were distinguished from the rest by the number of their respective followers, and the importance of their differences. The one, borrowing hints from the Manichæan system, maintained the doctrine of *two eternal Beings*, from whom all things are derived, the *God of light*, who was also the Father of Jesus Christ, and the *principle of darkness*, whom they considered as the author of the material world. The other believed in *one eternal principle*, the Father of Christ, and the Supreme God, by whom also they held that the *first matter* was created; but they added to this, that the *evil being*, after his rebellion against God and his fall from heaven, arranged this original matter according to his fancy, and divided it into four elements, for the production of this visible world.

The Catharists divided into two sects.

[q] Besides the works which will be soon mentioned, see the *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by Martenne, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703. as also Bonacursi *Manifestatio Heresi Catharorum* in Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

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The former maintained, that Christ, clothed with a celestial body, descended into the womb of the Virgin, and derived no part of his substance from her; while the latter taught, that he first assumed a real body in the womb of Mary, though not *from* her [*r*]. The sect which held the doctrine of *two principles*, derived the name of *Albanenses* from the place where their spiritual ruler resided; and this sect was subdivided into two, of which one took the name of *Balazinanfa*, bishop of *Verona*, and the other that of John de Lugio, bishop of *Bergamo*. The sect which adhered to the doctrine of *one eternal principle* was also subdivided into the congregation of *Baioli*, the capital town of the province, and that of *Concoregio*, or *Concorezzo*. The *Albigenses*, who were settled in *France*, belonged to the church or congregation of *Baioli* [*s*].

VI. In the internal constitution of the church that was founded by this sect, there were many rules and principles of a singular nature, which

[*r*] See Bern. Moneta, in *Summa adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, published at *Rome* in the year 1743, by Thom. August. Riccini, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the *Cathari*, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. Moneta was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See *Lib. i.* p. 2 & 5. *Lib. ii.* p. 244, &c.

[*s*] Raineri Sachoni *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1761. 1768.—Peregrinus Priscianus in Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93. who exhibits, in a sort of table, these different sects, but erroneously places the *Albigenses*, who were a branch of the *Baiolenses*, in the place of the *Albanenses*; this, perhaps, may be an error of the press. The opinions of these *Baiolenses* or *Bagnolenses*, may be seen in the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, which Limborch published with his *History of the Inquisition*. The account, however, which we have in this history (*Book I. Ch. VIII.*) of the opinions of the *Albigenses*, is by no means accurate. A great variety of causes have contributed to involve in darkness and perplexity the distinctive characters of these different sects, whose respective systems we cannot enlarge upon at present.

we pass over in silence, as they would oblige us to enter into a detail inconsistent with our intended brevity. The government of this church was administered by *bishops*; and each of these had two vicars, of whom one was called the *elder son*, and the other the *younger*; while the rest of the clergy and doctors were comprehended under the general denomination of *deacons* [†]. The veneration, which the people had for the clergy in general, and more especially for the bishops and their spiritual sons, was carried to a height that almost exceeds credibility. The discipline observed by this sect was so excessively rigid and austere, that it was practicable only by a certain number of robust and determined fanatics. But that such as were not able to undergo this discipline might not, on that account, be lost to the cause, it was thought necessary, in imitation of the ancient Manichæans, to divide this sect into two classes, one of which was distinguished by the title of the *consolati*, i. e. *comforted*, while the other received only the denomination of *confederates*. The former gave themselves out for persons of consummate wisdom and extraordinary piety, lived in perpetual celibacy, and led a life of the severest mortification and abstinence, without allowing themselves the enjoyment of any worldly comfort. The latter, if we except a few particular rules which they observed, lived like the rest of mankind, but at the same time were obliged by a solemn agreement they had made with the church, and which, in Italian, they called *la convenenza*, to enter before their death, in their last moments, if not sooner, into the class of the *comforted*, and to receive the *consolamentum*, or form of inaugu-

[†] See Sachoni *Summa de Catharis*, p. 1766.

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The Petro-
bruffians.

ration, by which they were introduced into that fanatical order [*u*].

VII. A much more rational sect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in *Languedoc* and *Provence*, by Peter de Bruys, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel; but, after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years, he was burned at *St. Giles'*, in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, instigated by the clergy, whose traffic was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this reformer. The whole system of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr, whose zeal was not without a considerable mixture of fanaticism, taught to the *Petrobruffians*, his disciples, is not known; it is however certain, that the five following tenets made a part of his system: 1. That no persons were to be baptized before they had the full use of their reason; 2. that it was an idle superstition to build churches for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered; and that therefore such churches as had already been erected were to be destroyed; 3. that the crucifixes, as instruments of superstition, deserved the same fate; 4. that the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited in the eucharist, but were merely represented in that holy ordinance by figures and symbols; 5. and, lastly, that the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could in no respect be advantageous to the dead [*w*].

VIII. This

[*u*] For a farther account of this sect, see the writers mentioned before, and particularly the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*.

[*w*] See *Petri Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobruffianos in Bibliotheca Cluniensi*, p. 1117.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedic.*

VIII. This innovator was succeeded by another, who was an Italian by birth, and whose name was Henry, the founder and parent of the sect called *Henricians*. It was, no doubt, a rare thing to see a person, who was at the same time monk and hermit, undertaking to reform the superstitions of the times; yet such was the case of Henry, who leaving *Lausanne*, a city in *Switzerland*, traveled to *Mans*, and being banished thence, removed successively to *Poitiers*, *Bourdeaux*, and the neighbouring places, and at length to *Toulouse* in the year 1147, exercising his ministerial function with the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming with vehemence and fervour against the vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had introduced into the Christian church. At *Toulouse* he was warmly opposed by St. Bernard, by whose influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight. But being seized by a prelate in his retreat, he was carried before pope Eugenius III. who presided in person at a council then assembled at *Rheims*, and who, in consequence of the accusations brought against Henry, committed him, in the year 1148, to a close prison, where he soon ended his days [*]. We have no satisfactory account of the doctrines of this reformer. We merely know that he rejected the baptism of infants, censured with severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy, treated the festivals

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The Henricians.

tom iv. p. 346.—Balsage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, period iv. p. 140.

[*] *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanens.* in Mabillon, *Analec. veter. avi*, p. 315.—Gaufridi *Epistola in Lib. vi. Vita Sti. Bernardi*, tom. ii. Op. Bernard. p. 1207.—Matth. Paris, *Histor. Maj.* p. 71.—Mabillon, *Pref. ad Opera Bernardi*, sect. vi. & *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

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The horrid
blasphemy
of Tanque-
laus.

and ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt, and held clandestine assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught. Several writers affirm, that he was the disciple of Peter de Bruys; but I cannot see upon what evidence or authority this assertion is grounded [y].

IX. While the Henricians were propagating their doctrines in *France*, an illiterate man, called Tanquelin, or Tanquelm, arose in *Brabant* about the year 1115, excited the most deplorable commotions at *Antwerp*, and drew after him a most numerous sect. If the accounts given of this heresiarch by his adversaries may be at all depended upon, he must either have been a monstrous impostor, or an outrageous madman. For he walked in public with the greatest solemnity, pretended to be God, or, at least, the Son of God, ordered daughters to be ravished in presence of their mothers, and committed himself the greatest disorders. Such are the enormities that are attributed to Tanquelm; but they are absolutely incredible, and cannot be true [z]. What seems most worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new teacher had imbibed the opinions and spirit of the Mystics; that he treated with contempt the

[y] That Henry was the disciple of Peter de Bruys is not at all probable: since, not to insist upon other reasons, the latter could not bear the sight of a cross, and in all likelihood owed his death to the multitude of crucifixes which he had committed to the flames; whereas the former, when he entered into any city, appeared with a cross in his hand, which he bore as a standard to attract the veneration of the people. See Mabillon, *Analecæ*, p. 316.

[z] *Epistola Trajectens. Ecclesiæ ad Fredericum Episcopum de Tanchelmo*, in Seb. Tengenagelii *Collectiõne Veterum Monumentor.* p. 368. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98.

—Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

external

external worship of God, the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the rite of baptism; and held clandestine assemblies to propagate more effectually his visionary notions. But as, besides all this, he inveighed against the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and declaimed against their vices with vehemence and intrepidity, it is probable that these blasphemies were falsely charged upon him by a vindictive priesthood. Be that as it may, the fate of Tanquelm was unhappy; for he was assassinated by an ecclesiastic in a cruel manner. His sect, however, did not perish with him, but acquired strength and vigour under the ministry of his disciples, until it was at length extinguished by the famous St. Norbert, the founder of the order of *Præmonstratenses*, or *Premontres* [a].

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X. In *Italy* Arnold of *Brescia*, a disciple of Abelard, and a man of extensive erudition and remarkable austerity, but of a turbulent and impetuous spirit, excited new troubles and commotions both in church and state. He was, indeed, condemned in the Lateran council, A. D. 1139, by Innocent II. and obliged to retire into *Switzerland*; but, upon the death of that pontiff, he returned into *Italy*, and raised at *Rome*, during the pontificate of Eugenius III. several tumults and seditions among the people, who changed, by his instigation, the government of the city, and insulted the persons of the clergy in the most disorderly manner. He fell however at last a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for, after various turns of fortune, he was seized in the year 1155, by a prefect of the city, by whom he was crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes. This unhappy man seems

Seditions
excited in
Italy by
Arnold of
Brescia.

[a] Louis Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*, liv. II. p. 126.—
Chryst. Vander Sterre *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. xxxvi. p. 164,
& Polyc. de Hertogh, *ad illam Annotationes*, p. 387.

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not to have adopted any doctrines inconsistent with the spirit of true religion; and the principles upon which he acted were chiefly reprehensible from their being carried too far, applied without discernment and discretion, and executed with a degree of vehemence which was both imprudent and criminal. Having perceived the discords and animosities, the calamities and disorders that sprang from the overgrown opulence of the pontiffs and bishops, he was persuaded that the interests of the church and the happiness of nations in general required, that the clergy should be divested of all their worldly possessions, of all their temporal rights and prerogatives. He, therefore, publicly maintained, that the treasures and revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries, ought to be resigned and transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and a subsistence drawn from tithes, and from the voluntary oblations and contributions of the people [b]. This violent reformer, in whose character and manners there were several things worthy of esteem, drew after him a great number of disciples, who derived from him the denomination of *Arnoldists*, and, in succeeding times, discovered the spirit and intrepidity of their leader, as often as any opportunities of reforming the church seemed to be offered to their zeal.

The origin
and history
of the Wal-
denses,

XI. Of all the sects that arose in this century, not one was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and

[b] See Otto *Frising. de gestis Frederici I.* lib. ii. cap. xx.—S. Bernardus, *Epist.* 195, 196. tom. i. p. 187.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157.—Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 137.—Henr. de Bunau, *Vita Frederici I.* p. 41.—Chauffepied, *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tom. i. p. 482.

the

the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenses, so called from their parent and founder Peter Waldus. This sect was known by different denominations. From the place where it first appeared, its members were called *The poor men of Lions* [c], or *Lionists*, and, from the wooden shoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called *Infabbatati*, or *Sabbatati* [d]. The origin of this famous sect was as follows: Peter, an opulent merchant of *Lions*, surnamed *Waldensis*, or *Validifius*, from *Vaux*, or *Waldum*, a town in the marquisate of *Lions*, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and Christian knowledge, employed a certain priest [e], about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the *Four Gospels*, with other books of Holy Scripture, and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that which

[c] They were called *Leonists* from *Leona*, the ancient name of *Lyons*, where their sect took its rise. The more eminent persons of that sect manifested their progress toward perfection by the simplicity and meanness of their external appearance. Hence, among other things, they wore wooden shoes, which in the French language are termed *sabots*, and had imprinted upon these shoes the sign of the cross, to distinguish themselves from other Christians; and it was on these accounts that they acquired the denomination of *sabbatati* and *infabbatati*. See *Du Fresne Glossarium Latin. medii ævi*, vi. voce *Sabbatati*. Nicol. Eumerici *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part III. N. 112, &c.

[d] See Steph. de Borbone, *de septem donis Spiritus Sancti*, in Échard & Quetif *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192.—Anonym. *Traëtatio de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in Martenne's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

[e] This priest was called Stephanus de Evisa.

was

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was originally inculcated by Christ and his apostles. Struck with this glaring contradiction between the doctrines of the pontiffs and the truths of the gospel, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation, and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor [f], and forming an association with other pious men, who had adopted his sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in the year 1180, to assume the quality of a public teacher, and to instruct the multitude in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. The archbishop of *Lions*, and the other rulers of the church in that province, opposed, with vigour, this new doctor in the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of that religion which these good men taught, the spotless innocence that shone forth in their lives and actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours manifested in the whole of their conduct and conversation, appeared so engaging to all such as had any sense of true piety, that the number of their disciples and followers increased from day to day [g]. They accordingly formed religious assemblies,

[f] It was on this account that the Waldenses were called *Pauvres de Lyons*, or *Poor Men of Lyons*.

[g] Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the *Waldenses*, and suppose they were so called from the *Valleys* in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of Peter Waldus. But these writers have no authority to support this assertion; and, besides this, they are amply refuted by the best historians. I do not mean to deny, that there were in the *Valleys of Piedmont*, long before this period, a set of men who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church of *Rome*, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects, that of the *Waldenses*; all that I maintain is, that these inhabitants of the *Valleys* above-mentioned are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*, who, according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of *Lyons*, and derived their name from Peter Waldus, their founder
and

assemblies, first in *France*, and afterwards in *Lambardy*, whence they propagated their sect through the other provinces of *Europe* with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most cruel inventions of merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause [b].

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and chief. ¶ We may venture to affirm the contrary, with the learned Beza and other writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that Valdis derived his name from the true *Valdenses* of *Piedmont*, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *Vaudois* and *Valdenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from Valdo, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the IXth century, and was the contemporary and chief counsellor of Berengarius. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their *Valleys* in *Piedmont*, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Vaudois*, their true name; hence Peter or (as others call him) John of *Lyons*, was called in Latin, *Valdis*, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *Valdenses* and *Waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody inquisitor Reinerus Sacco, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the *Waldenses*, lived but about 80 years after *Valdis* of *Lyons*, and must therefore be supposed to have known whether he was the real founder of the *Valdenses* or *Leonists*; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the *Leonists* (mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in this section, as synonymous with *Waldenses*) as a sect that had flourished above 500 years, and even mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the apostolic age. See the account given of Sacco's book by the Jesuit Gretler, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle Dr. Mosheim maintains, that the inhabitants of the *Valleys* of *Piedmont* are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of Leger's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudaises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless.—When the Papists ask us, where our religion was before Luther, we generally answer, in the *Bible*; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *Tradition* and *human authority*, we may add to this answer, and in the *Valleys* of *Piedmont*.

[b] See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the sect in question; namely, Sachoni *Summa contra Waldenses*.—

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The doctrine, discipline, and views of the Waldenses.

XII. The attempts of Peter Waldus and his followers were neither employed nor designed to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propose new articles of faith to Christians. All they aimed at was, to reduce the form of ecclesiastical government, and the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, which had characterised the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our holy religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Roman church had degenerated, under Constantine the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and maintained that the rulers and ministers of the church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the apostles, and to procure for themselves a subsistence by the work of their hands. They considered every Christian, as in a certain measure qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their Christian course, and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the church, *i. e.* the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting and alms, which the new-invented doctrine of *indulgences* had nearly abolished. They at the same time affirmed, that every pious Christian was qualified

Waldenses.—Monetæ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, published by Riccini.—*Tr. de Heresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, published by Martenne, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1777.—Pilichdoriæ *contra Waldenses*, t. xxv. *B. Max. Patr.*—Add to these authors, Jo. Paul Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois*, published at Geneva in 1619.—Jo. Leger, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. ch. xiv. p. 156.—Usher, *de successionē Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209.—Jaq. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tome i. period iv. p. 329.—Thom. Auguft. Riccini, *Dissertat. de Waldensibus*, prefixed to his edition of the *Summa Monetæ*, p. 36.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 292.

and

and entitled to prescribe to penitents the kind and degree of *satisfaction* or expiation that their transgressions required; that confession made to a priest was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *indulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon the separation from the body, received into heaven, or sent down to hell. These and other tenets of a like nature composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the sermon of Christ on the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and, of consequence, prohibited and condemned in their society all wars, and suits of law, all attempts toward the acquisition of wealth, the infliction of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds [i].

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[i] See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by Limborch, as also the *Summa Monetæ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are nearly unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and shew plainly enough

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The form of
church-go-
vernment
among the
Waldenses.

XIII. The government of the church was committed, by the Waldenses, to *bishops* [k], *presbyters*, and deacons; for they acknowledged that these three orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they deemed it absolutely necessary, that all these orders should resemble exactly the apostles of the divine Saviour, and be, like them, illiterate, poor, destitute of all worldly possessions, and furnished with some laborious trade or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence [l]. The laity were divided into two classes; one of which contained the *perfect*, and the other the *imperfect* Christians. The former spontaneously divested themselves of all worldly possessions, manifested, in the wretchedness of their apparel, their excessive poverty, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting. The latter were less austere, and approached the method of living generally received, though they abstained, like the graver sort of anabaptists in later times, from all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is, however, to be observed, that the Waldenses were not without their intestine divisions. Such as resided in *Italy* differed considerably in their opinions from those who dwelt in *France* and the other European countries. The former considered the church of *Rome* as the church of Christ, though much corrupted and sadly disfigured; they acknowledged moreover the validity of its seven sacraments, and solemnly declared that they would

enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines that were universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the clergy, and the abuses that had been introduced into the worship and discipline of the church.

[k] The bishops were also called *majorales* or *elders*.

[l] The greatest part of the *Waldenses* gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole sect, in some places, were called the *sect of weavers*.

ever

ever continue in communion with it, provided they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without molestation or restraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that the church of *Rome* had apostatised from Christ, was deprived of the Holy Spirit, and was, in reality, the *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations* of St. John [m].

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XIV. Besides these famous sects, which made a great noise in the world, and drew after them multitudes from the bosom of a corrupt and superstitious church, there were religious factions of less importance, which arose in *Italy*, and more especially in *France*, though they seem to have expired soon after their birth [n]. In *Lombardy*, which was the principal residence of the Italian heretics, there sprang up a very singular sect, known (for what reason I cannot tell) by the denomination of *Pasaginians*, and also by that of the *circumcised*. Like the other sects already mentioned, they had the utmost aversion to the dominion and discipline of the church of *Rome*; but they were, at the same time, distinguished by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themselves. The first was a notion, that the observance of the law of *Moses*, in every thing except the offering of sacrifices, was obligatory upon Christians; in conse-

Sects of a
less eminent
kind. The
Pasaginians.

[m] *Monetæ Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406. 416, &c. They seem to have been also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of Stephanus de Borbone, apud Echardi *Script. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the *Waldenses* into two classes, the *poor men of Lions*, and the *poor men of Lombardy*. The former rejected and prohibited all sorts of possessions; the latter looked upon worldly possessions as lawful. This distinction may be also confirmed by several passages of other ancient authors.

[n] For an account of these obscure sects, see Stephanus de Borbone, apud Echardi *Script. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 191.

quence

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quence of which they circumcised their followers, abstained from those meats, the use of which was prohibited under the Mosaic œconomy, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. The second tenet that distinguished this sect was advanced in opposition to the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature; for the *Pasaginians* maintained that Christ was no more than the *first and purest creature of God*; nor will their adoption of this opinion seem very surprising, if we consider the prodigious number of Arians that were scattered throughout *Italy* long before this period [o].

The Capu-
tati.

XV. A sect of fanatics, called *Caputiat*i, from a singular kind of cap that was the badge of their faction, infested the province of *Burgundy*, the diocese of *Auxerre*, and several other parts of *France*, in all which places they excited much disturbance among the people. They wore upon their caps a leaden image of the Virgin Mary; and they declared publicly, that their purpose was to level all distinctions, to abrogate magistracy, to remove all subordination among mankind, and to restore that primitive liberty, that natural equality, which were the inestimable privileges of the first mortals. Hugo, bishop of *Auxerre*, attacked these disturbers of human society in the proper manner, employing against them the force of arms, instead of arguments [p].

The sect of the *apostolics*, whom St. Bernard opposed with such bitterness and fury, and who were so called, as that zealous abbot himself acknowledged, because they professed to exhibit, in

[o] See F. Bonacursi *Manifestatio heresis Catharorum*, in d'Acheri's *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211. edit. nov.—Gerard. Bergamensis *contra Catharos et Pasagios*, in Lud. Anton. Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 151.

[p] Jaques Le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 317.

their

their lives and manners, the piety and virtues of the holy apostles, were very different from the audacious heretics now mentioned. They were a clownish set of men, of the lowest birth, who gained their subsistence by bodily labour; and yet no sooner did they form themselves into a sect, than they drew after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and orders. Their religious doctrine, as St. Bernard confesses, was free from error, and their lives and manners were irreproachable and exemplary. Yet they were reprehensible on account of the following peculiarities: 1. They held it unlawful to take an oath; 2. They suffered their hair and their beards to grow to an enormous length, so that their aspect was inexpressibly extravagant and savage; 3. They preferred celibacy to wedlock, and called themselves the *chaste brethren and sisters*: notwithstanding which, 4. Each man had a spiritual sister with him, after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived in a domestic relation, lying in the same chamber with her, though not in the same bed [9].

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XVI. In the council assembled at *Rheims* in the year 1148, in which pope Eugenius III. presided, a certain gentleman of the province of *Bretagne*, whose name was Eon, and whose brain was undoubtedly disordered, was condemned for pretending to be the Son of God. Having heard, in the form that was used for exorcising malignant spirits, these words pronounced, *per Eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*, he concluded, from the resemblance between the word Eum and his name, that he was the person who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man should rather have been delivered over to the physicians than placed in the

Eon, a
wrong-head-
ed fanatic.

[9] Sti. Bernardi *Serm. lxxv, in Canticum*, tom. iv. op. p. 1495. edit. *Mabillon*.

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list of heretics. He ended his days in a miserable prison, and left a considerable number of followers and adherents, whom persecution and death in the most dreadful forms could not persuade to abandon his cause, or to renounce an absurdity, which one would think could never have gained credit, but in a receptacle of lunatics [*r*]. This remarkable example is sufficient to shew, not only the astonishing credulity of the stupid multitude, but also how far even the rulers of the church were destitute of judgment, and unacquainted with true and genuine religion.

[*r*] Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 68 —Guil. Neubrigenſis, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50.—Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 241.

THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church in this century.

I. **T**HOUGH the successors of Genghiz-Khan, the powerful emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Mogols, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of *Asia*, and, having reduced *China*, *India*, and *Persia*, under their yoke, had involved in many calamities and sufferings the Christian assemblies which were established in these vanquished lands [a]; yet we learn from the best accounts, and the most respectable authorities, that both in *China*, and in the northern parts of *Asia*, the Nestorians continued to have a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperors of the Tartars and Mogols had no great aversion to the Christian religion. It even appears from authentic records, that several kings and grandees of those nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry

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The state of Christianity in the northern parts of *Asia*, and in *China*.

[a] Gregor. Abulpharajius, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281.

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and exhortations of the Nestorians [b]. But the religion of Mohammed, which was so adapted to flatter the passions of men, gradually infected these noble converts, opposed with success the progress of the gospel, and at length so effectually triumphed over it, that not the least glimpse or remains of Christianity were to be perceived in the courts of those eastern princes.

A papal
embassy is
sent to the
Tartars.

II. The Tartars having made an incursion into *Europe* in the year 1241, and having laid waste, with the most unrelenting and savage barbarity, *Hungary, Poland, Silesia*, and the adjacent countries, the Roman pontiffs thought it incumbent upon them to endeavour to calm the fury, and soften the ferocity, of these new and formidable enemies. For this purpose, in 1245, Innocent IV. sent an embassy to the Tartars, which consisted of Dominican and Franciscan friars [c]. In 1274, Abaka, the emperor of that fierce nation, sent ambassadors to the council of *Lyons*, which was holden under the pontificate of Gregory X. [d]. About four years after this, pope Nicolas III. paid the same compliment to Coblai, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom he sent a solemn embassy of Franciscan monks, with a view to render that prince propitious to the Christian cause. The last expedition of this kind that we shall mention at present, was that of Johannes à

[b] See Marc. Paul. Venet. *de Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi.—Haytho the Armenian's *Histor. Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41.—Jof. Sim. *Astoriani Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. III. part II. p. 526. See particularly the *Ecclesiastical History of the Tartars*, published in Latin at *Helmstadt*, in the year 1741, in 4to. under my auspices and inspection.

[c] See Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116. 149. 179. 256

[d] Wadding, tom. iv. p. 35. tom. v. p. 128. See particularly an accurate and ample account of the negotiations that passed between the pontiffs and the Tartars, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*, already mentioned.

Monte-

Monte Corvino, who, in 1289, was sent with other ecclesiastics to the same emperor, by Nicolas IV. and who carried letters to the Nestorians from that zealous pontiff. This mission was far from being useless, since these spiritual ambassadors converted many of the Tartars to Christianity, engaged considerable numbers of the Nestorians to adopt the doctrine and discipline of the church of *Rome*, and erected churches in different parts of *Tartary* and *China*. In order to accelerate the propagation of the gospel among these darkened nations, Johannes a Monte Corvino translated the *New Testament* and the *Psalms* of David into the language of the Tartars [e].

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III. The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. They had learned, by a delightful experience, how much these Asiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at least carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glory; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions [f]. Innocent III. therefore, founded the charge; but the greatest part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length, however, after many unsuccessful attempts in different

Crusades
renewed.

[e] Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Ecclesiastic.* tom. xiv. ad annum 1278. sect. 17. p. 282. & ad ann. 1289. sect. 59. p. 419. edit. Colon.—Pierre Bergeron, *Traité des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61. See also the writers mentioned in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*.

[f] This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontiffs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 174. 365, &c.

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countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of Venice, and set sail for the east with an army that was far from being formidable. The event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards *Palestine*, sailed directly for *Constantinople*, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a design of restoring to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius, the usurper of the empire. In the following year a dreadful sedition was raised at *Constantinople*, in which the emperor Isaac was put to death, and his son, the young Alexius, was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the ringleader of this furious faction [g]. The account of this atrocity no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the crusade, than they made themselves masters of *Constantinople* for the second time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, count of *Flanders*, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for, about two years after this, the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose, Theodore Lascaris, who chose *Nice* in *Bithynia* for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at *Nice*; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at *Constantinople*, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But, in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour and

✠ [g] The learned authors of the *Universal History* call this ringleader, by mistake, John Ducas.

stratagems

stratagems of his general, Cæsar Alexius, became master of *Constantinople*, and forced the Latin emperor Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in *Italy*. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at *Constantinople*, after a duration of fifty-seven years [b].

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IV. Another sacred expedition was undertaken in the year 1217, under the pontificate of Honorius III. by the confederate arms of *Italy* and *Germany*. The allied army was commanded in chief by Andrew, king of *Hungary*, who was joined by Leopold, duke of *Austria*, Louis of *Bavaria*, and several other princes. After the lapse of a few months, Andrew returned into *Europe*. The remaining chiefs carried on the war with vigour, and in the year 1220, made themselves masters of *Damietta*, the strongest city in *Egypt*; but their prosperity was of a short duration; for, in the following year, their fleet was totally ruined by that of the Saracens, their provisions were cut off, and their army reduced to the greatest difficulties. This irreparable loss, being followed by that of *Damietta*, blasted all their hopes, and removed the flattering prospects which their successful beginnings had presented to their expectations [i].

Another
crusade un-
dertaken.

[b] See, for a full account of this empire, Du Fresne, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les François*, written by Godfrey de Ville-Harduin, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history. See also Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216.—Guntheri *Monachi Histor. capte à Latinis Constantinopoleos*, in Henr. Canisii *Leß. Antiq.* tom. iv. p. 1.—Innocentii III. *Epistol. à Baluzio edit.* passim.

[i] See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Histor. Oriental.* & Marinus Sannutus, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bongursianos de sacris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos*.

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An historical
view of
the other
crusades,
each in their
order.

V. The legates and ministers of the court of Rome still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of *Europe* so much the more, as it was generally believed, that this army was to be commanded by the emperor Frederic II. That prince had, indeed, obliged himself by a solemn promise, made to the Roman pontiff, to take upon him the direction of this expedition; and what added a new degree of force to this engagement, and seemed to render the violation of it impossible, was the marriage that Frederic had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of *Brienne*, and king of *Jerusalem*; by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Notwithstanding these inducements, the emperor postponed his voyage under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incensed pontiff Gregory IX. [k], he fol-

✠ [k] This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from exciting Frederic to accelerate his departure for *Palestine*, that it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary, received with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his ambassador at *Rome*, and shewed that the reasons of his delay were solid and just, and not mere pretexts, as the pope had pretended. At the same time, he wrote a remarkable letter to Henry III. king of *England*, in which he complains of the insatiable avarice, the boundless ambition, the perfidious and hypocritical proceedings of the Roman pontiffs. See Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, liv. lxxix. tome xvi. p. 601. edit. *Bruxelles*.

lowed with a small train of attendants the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in *Palestine*. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom, than, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without consulting the other princes and chiefs of the crusade, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with Malec-al-Camel, sultan of *Egypt*. The principal article of this treaty was, that Frederic should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of *Jerusalem*: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus settled matters in *Palestine*, he returned without delay into *Italy*, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence. Notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his creatures, this expedition was, in reality, the most successful of any that had been undertaken against the infidels [1].

VI. The expeditions that followed this were less important and also less successful. In the year 1239, Theobald VI. [m] count of *Champagne* and king of *Navarre* set out from *Marsailles* for the Holy Land, accompanied by several French and German princes, as did also, in the following year, Richard earl of *Cornwall*, brother to Henry III. king of *England*. The issue of

[1] See the writers that have composed the History of the Holy Wars, and of the Life and Exploits of Frederic II. See also Muratori's *Annales Italie*, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

☞ [m] Dr. Mosheim calls him, by a mistake, Theobald V. unless we are to attribute this fault to an error of the press.
these

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these two expeditions by no means corresponded with the preparations which were made to render them successful. The former failed through the influence of the emperor's [n] ambassadors in *Palestine*, who renewed the truce with the Moslems; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of Christians were defeated at *Gaza*, and such as escaped the carnage returned into *Europe*. This fatal event was principally occasioned by the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of St. John of *Jerusalem*. Hence it came to pass, that the arrival of Richard, which had been industriously retarded by Gregory, and which had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and all that this prince could do, was to enter, with the consent of the allies, into a truce upon as good conditions as the declining state of their affairs would admit. This truce was accordingly concluded with the sultan of *Egypt* in the year 1241; after which Richard immediately set sail for *Europe* [o].

The expedition of Louis IX.

VII. The affairs of the Christians in the east daily declined. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to extremities when Louis IX. king of *France*, who was canonised after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in consequence of a

✠ [n] This was Frederic II. who had a great party in *Palestine*, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, Gregory IX.; from which division the Christian cause suffered much.

[o] All these circumstances are accurately related and illustrated by the learned George Christ. Gebauerus, in his *Historia Richardi Imperatoris*, lib. i. p. 34.—It appears however by the *Epistole Petri de Vincis*, that Richard was created, by Frederic, his lord lieutenant of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and this furnishes a probable reason why Gregory used all possible means to retard Richard's voyage.

VOW,

vow, which this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a dangerous illness, that he undertook this arduous task; and, in the execution of it, he set sail for *Egypt* with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conquest of this province would enable him to carry on the war in *Syria* and *Palestine* with greater facility and success. The first attempts of the zealous monarch were crowned with victory; for *Damietta*, that famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mohammedans, in the year 1250; Robert, earl of *Artois*, the king's brother, having surprised the Saracen army, and, through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and, a few days after, Louis, with two more of his brothers [p], and the greatest part of his army, were made prisoners in a bloody action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was extremely pious, though after the manner that prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price [q]; and, after having spent about

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☞ [p] Alphonso earl of *Poitiers*, and Charles earl of *Anjou*.

☞ [q] The ransom, which, together with the restoration of *Damietta*, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was eight hundred thousand gold bezants, and not eighty thousand, as Collier (*Eccles. Hist.* vol i. p. 456.) erroneously reckons. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 Livres of French money, would, in our days, amount to the value of four millions of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling.

four

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A second
crusade un-
dertaken
by the same
monarch.

four years in *Palestine*, returned into *France*, in the year 1254, with a handful of men [r], the miserable remains of his formidable army.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage or damp the invincible spirit of Louis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in *Palestine*. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet with which he set sail for *Africa*, accompanied by a splendid train of princes and nobles, and proposed to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually the war in *Asia*. Immediately after his arrival upon the *African* coast, he made himself master of the fort of *Carthage*; but this first success was soon followed by a fatal change in his affairs. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet, in the harbour of *Tunis*, carried off the greatest part of the army, and seized, at length, the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, 1270 [s]. Louis was the last of the European princes that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous ex-

[r] Of 2800 illustrious knights, who set out with Louis from *France*, there remained about a hundred when he sailed from *Palestine*. See Joinville's *Hist. de S. Louis* IX. p. 81.

[s] Among the various histories that deserve to be consulted for a more ample account of this last crusade, the principal place is due to the *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations Historiques, par Charles du Fresne, Paris, 1688, fol.* See also Filleau de la Chaise, *Histoire de S. Louis, Paris, 1688, 2 vols. 8vo.*—Menconis *Chronicon*, in Ant. Matthæi *Analect. veteris ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172. 179.—Luc. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294. 307, & *passim*. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 212. 392, &c.—Pierre Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xi. p. 337. 405. 575.

pences

pences that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of *Ptolemais*, or *Acra*, by the Mohammedans, it was entirely overthrown [†]. It is natural to enquire into the true causes that contributed to this unhappy revolution in *Palestine*; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the counsels or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that reigned in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legate.

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IX. Christianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, or conquered the Pagan superstitions and prejudices, that still prevailed in some of the western provinces. Among others, the Prussians, a fierce and savage nation, retained the idolatrous worship of their ancestors with the most obstinate perseverance; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the ecclesiastics, that were sent from time to time to convert them, produce the least effect upon their stubborn and intractable spirits. The brutish firmness of these Pagans induced Conrad, duke of *Masovia*, to have recourse to more forcible methods than reason and argument, in order to effect their conversion. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary (who, after their

Conversion
of the Prus-
sians.

[†] Ant. Matthæi *Analekta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748.—Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 422.—*Imola in Dantem*, in Muratorii *Antiq. Italica medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111.

expulsion

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expulsion from *Palestine*, had settled at *Venice*), and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the *Prussians*. The knights accordingly arrived in *Prussia*, under the command of Herman de Saltza, and, after a most cruel and obstinate war of fifty years with that resolute people, obliged them to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith [*u*]. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in *Prussia*, these booted apostles made several incursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into *Lithuania*, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a feigned submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent spirit of its celestial author [*w*].

Of the Ara-
bians in
Spain.

X. In *Spain* the cause of the gospel gained ground. The kings of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and *Arragon*, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Granada*, and *Murcia*; together with the province of *Andalusia*; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace, and was daily

[*u*] See Matthæi *Analekta vet. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18. tom. v. p. 684.—689.—*Chronicon Prussie*, by Peter of Duisburg, published by Hartknoch at Jena in 1679.—Christoph. Hartknoch's *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book I. ch. i. p. 23. and *Antiquitates Prussie*, Diff. xiv. p. 201.—Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427. 478. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 40. 63. *Histoire de Pologne par Solignac*, tom. ii. p. 238.

[*w*] Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see Ludwig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

reduced

reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every side. The princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution were Ferdinand, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who, after his death, obtained a place in the Kalendar, his father Alphonso IX. king of *Leon*, and James I. king of *Arragon* [x]. The latter, more especially, distinguished himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master of *Valentia* in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, of whose ministry he principally made use in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at *Majorca* and *Barcelona*, in which a considerable number of youths were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, pope Clement IV. exhorted the king to drive the Mohammedans out of *Spain*. The obsequious prince attempted to follow the counsel of the inconsiderate pontiff; in the execution of which, however, he met with great difficulty, from the opposition of the Spanish nobles on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other [y].

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[x] See Joh. Ferreras, *History of Spain*, vol. iv.

[y] See Geddes' *History of the Expulsion of the Morescoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

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Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

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PART I.
The unhappy state of the affairs of the Christians in the east.

I. **T**HE accounts we have already given of the Tartarian conquests, and of the unhappy issue of the crusades, will be sufficient to suggest a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the Christians were reduced in *Asia*; and, if the Saracens had been infected with the same odious spirit of persecution that possessed the crusaders, there would not perhaps have remained a single Christian in that part of the world. But though these infidels were chargeable with various crimes, and had frequently treated the Christians in a rigorous and injurious manner, yet they looked with horror upon those scenes of persecution, which the Latins exhibited as the exploits of heroic piety, and considered it as the highest and most atrocious mark of injustice and cruelty to force unhappy men, by fire and sword, to abandon their religious principles, or to put them to death merely because they refused to change their opinions. After the destruction of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, many of the Latins remained still in *Syria*, and retiring into the dark and solitary recesses of mount *Libanus*, lived there in a savage manner, and lost, by degrees, all sense of religion and humanity, as appears from the conduct and characters of their descendants, who still inhabit the same uncultivated wilds, and who seem almost entirely destitute of all knowledge of God and religion [z].

II. The

[z] A certain tribe called *Derusi*, or *Drusi*, who inhabit the recesses of the mounts *Liban* and *Anti-Liban*, pretend to descend from the ancient Franks, who were once masters of *Palestine*. This derivation is, indeed, doubtful. It is however certain,

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licentious writers, some of whom publicly attacked the doctrines of Christianity, while others went so far as atheistically to call in question the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. These complaints, however they might have been exaggerated in some respects, were yet far from being entirely destitute of foundation; and the superstition of the age was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels and libertines, among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that absurd system of religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their dependents exhibited as the true religion of Christ, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the means of being better instructed, unhappily induced to consider the Christian religion as a fable, invented and propagated by greedy and ambitious priests, in order to fill their coffers, and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of Aristotle, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scriptural account of the origin of the world, and various points of less mo-

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PART I.

Complaints
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certain that there still remain in these countries descendants of those, whom the holy war led from *Europe* into *Palestine*; though they do very little honour to their ancestors, and have nothing of Christians but the name.

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Frederic II.
accused of
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ment. Not only were these doctrines rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of Aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon [a].

III. If the accusations brought against Frederic II. by pope Gregory IX. deserve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the most inveterate and malignant enemies of the Christian religion, since he was charged by the pontiff

[a] See Sti. Thomæ *Summa contra gentes*, and Bernardi Monetæ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*. The latter writer, in the work now mentioned, combats, with great spirit, those enemies of Christianity who appeared in his time. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book, p. 416. he disputes in an ample and copious manner, against those who affirmed, *that the soul perished with the body*; refutes, in the eleventh chapter, p. 477. those Aristotelian philosophers, who held, that the world had existed from all eternity, and would never have an end; and, in the fifteenth chapter, p. 554. he attacks those, who, despising the authority of the sacred writings, deny the existence of *human liberty*, and maintain, that all things, and even the crimes of the wicked, are the effects of an *absolute and irresistible necessity*. Add to these authors, Tempier's *Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetie publice privatimque docebantur, Anno 1277, in Bibliotheca patrum Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233; as also Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 433. and Gerard du Bois' *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of these doctors will, no doubt, appear of a surprising nature; for they taught, "that there was only one intellect among all the human race; that all things were subject to absolute fate or necessity; that the universe was not governed by a divine providence; that the world was eternal, and the soul mortal;" and they maintained these and the like monstrous errors, by arguments drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle. But, at the same time, to avoid the just resentment of the people, they held up, as a buckler against their adversaries, that most dangerous and pernicious distinction between *theological and philosophical truth*, which has been since used, with the utmost cunning and bad faith, by the more recent Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "These things, said they (as we learn from Tempier, who was bishop of Paris), are true in philosophy, but not according to the catholic faith." *Vera sunt hæc secundum philosophum, non secundum fidem catholicam.*

with

with having said, that *the world had been deceived by three impostors*, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed[*b*]. This charge was answered by a solemn and public profession of his faith, which the emperor addressed to all the kings and princes of *Europe*, to whom also had been addressed the accusation brought against him. The charge, however, was founded upon the testimony of Henry Raspon, landgrave of *Thuringia*, who declared that he had heard the emperor pronounce the abominable blasphemy above-mentioned [*c*]. It is, after all, difficult to decide with sufficient evidence upon this point. Frederic, who was extremely passionate and imprudent, may, perhaps in a fit of rage, have suffered some such expression as this to escape his reflexion; and this is rendered probable by the company he frequented, and the number of learned Aristotelians that were always about his person, and might suggest matter enough for such impious expressions, as that now under consideration. It was this affair that gave occasion, in after-times, to the invention of that fabulous account [*d*], which supposes the detestable book *concerning the three impostors* to have been composed by the emperor himself, or by Peter de Vineis, a native of *Capua*, a man of great credit and authority, whom that prince [*e*] had

[*b*] Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 408. 459.—Petr. de Vincis, *Epist.* lib. i.

[*c*] Herm. Gigantis *Flores Temporum*, p. 126.—Chr. Fred. Ayrmann, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639.

[*d*] See Casim. Oudini *Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tom. iii. p. 66.—Alb. Henr. de Sallengre, *Memoires d'Histoire et de Literature*, tome i. part I. p. 386.

☞ [*e*] The book entitled *Liber de III Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person.

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had chosen for his prime minister, and in whom he placed the highest confidence.

person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of Simon Tournay, doctor of divinity in the university of *Paris* in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this, "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by Moses, the Christians by Jesus, and the Gentiles by Mohammed." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor Frederic, and other persons, perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book to which they have given rise, has been attributed by different authors to Frederic, to his chancellor Peter de Vineis, to Alphonso, king of *Castile*, to Boccace, Poggio, the Aretins, Pomponace, Machiavel, Erasmus, Ochinus, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triumfante* of Giordano Bruno, and a wretched piece of impiety called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the ground-work of materials from which these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages, and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See La Monnoye's *Dissertation sur le Livre des Trois Imposteurs*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Menagiana*. See also an *Answer* to this Dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer at the *Hague*, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late Prosper Merchane's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. at the article *Imposteurs*.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of learning and philosophy during this century.

THE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, which are necessary for the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they retained a certain portion of their former spirit, and did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears from the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were Nicetas Choniates, Georgius Acropolita, Gregorius Pachymeres, and Joel, whose *Chronology* is yet extant. We learn from the writings of Gregory Pachymeres, and Nicephorus Blemmida, that the Peripatetic philosophy was not without its admirers among the Greeks, though the Platonic was most in vogue. The greatest part of the Grecian philosophers, following the example of the later Platonists, whose works were the subject of their constant meditation, were inclined to reduce the wisdom of Plato and the subtilties of the Stagirite into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary to exhibit a list of those authors, who wrote the lives and discourses of the saints, or distinguished themselves in the controversy with the Latin church, or of those who

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employed their learned labours in illustrating the canon law of the Greeks. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was Gregory Abul Faraj, primate of the Jacobites, a man of true genius and universal learning, who was a judicious divine, an eminent historian, and a good philosopher [a]. George Elmacin, who composed the history of the Saracens, was also a writer of no mean reputation.

The progress
of learning
in the west.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the western world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated with assiduity and zeal, and, of consequence, flourished with increasing vigour. The European princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions

[a] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *Abulpharage*; as also Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

✞ Abulpharagius, or Abul-Faraj, was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia*, near the source of the river *Euphrates*, and acquired a vast reputation in the east, on account of his extensive erudition. He composed an *Abridgement of Universal History*, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The first comprehends the history of the ancient patriarchs from *Adam* to *Moses*. The second, that of *Joshua* and the other judges of *Israel*. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth, contain the history of the kings of *Israel*, of the Chaldean princes, of the Persian Magi, and of the Grecian monarchs. The seventh relates to the Roman history; the eighth, to that of the Greek emperors of *Constantinople*. In the ninth he treats of the Arabian princes, and in the tenth of the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the Saracens and Tartars, than in his accounts of other nations. The learned Dr. Edward Pocock translated this work into Latin, and published his translation in 1663-4, with a supplement which carries on the history of the oriental princes, where Abul-Faraj left it. The same learned translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgement of the ninth dynasty under the following title: "Specimen Historiæ Arabum; five Gregorii Abulfaragii Malatienfis de origine et moribus Arabum succincta narratio."

learned

learned men from all parts of the world, nourished the arts in their bosom, excited the youth to the love of letters, by crowning their progress with the most noble rewards, and encouraged every effort of genius, by conferring upon such as excelled, the most honourable distinctions. Among these patrons and protectors of learning the emperor Frederic II. and Alphonso X. king of *Leon* and *Castile*, (two princes as much distinguished by their own learning, as by the encouragement they granted to men of genius), acquired the highest renown, and rendered their names immortal. The former founded the academy of *Naples*, had the works of Aristotle translated into Latin, assembled about his person all the learned men whom he could engage by his munificence to repair to his court, and gave other undoubted proofs of his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences [b]. The latter obtained an illustrious and permanent renown by several learned productions, but more especially by his famous *Astronomical Tables* [c]. In consequence then of the protection that was given to the sciences in this century, academies were erected almost in every city; peculiar privileges of various kinds were granted to the youth that frequented them; and these learned societies acquired, at length, the form of political bodies; that is to say, they were invested with a certain jurisdiction, and were governed by their own laws and statutes.

[b] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 115. Giannone, *Historia di Napoli*, tom. ii. p. 497. Add to these the observations of Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

[c] Nic. Antonii *Bibliotheca vetus Hispan.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 217. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 347.

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The state of
the Euro-
pean acad-
emies.

III. In the public schools or academies that were founded at *Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, and Cologne*, the whole circle of science was not taught, as in our times. The application of the youth, and the labours of their instructors, were limited to certain branches of learning; and thus the course of academical education remained imperfect. The academy of *Paris*, which surpassed all the rest, both with respect to the number and abilities of its professors, and the multitude of students by whom it was frequented, was the first learned society which extended the sphere of education, received all the sciences into its bosom, and appointed masters for every branch of erudition. Hence it was distinguished, before any other academy, with the title of an university, to denote its embracing the whole body of science; and, in process of time, other schools of learning were ambitious of forming themselves upon the same model, and of being honoured with the same title. In this famous university, the doctors were divided into four colleges or classes, according to the branches of learning they professed; and these classes were called, in after-times, *faculties*. In each of these *faculties*, a doctor was chosen by the suffrages of his colleagues, to preside during a fixed period in the society; and the title of *dean* was given to those who successively filled that eminent office [*d*]. The head of the *university*, whose inspection and jurisdiction extended to all branches of that learned body, was dignified with the name of *chancellor*; and that high and honourable place was filled by the bishop of *Paris*, to whom an assistant was afterwards joined, who shared the administration with

[*d*] This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

him,

him, and was invested with an extensive authority [*e*]. The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was Robert de Sorbonne, (a particular friend and favourite of St. Louis), whose name was adopted, and is still retained by that theological society [*f*].

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IV. Such as were desirous of being chosen professors in any of the *faculties* or colleges of this university, were obliged to submit to a long and tedious *course* of probation, to suffer the strictest examinations, and to give, during several years, undoubted proofs of their learning and capacity, before they were received in the character of public teachers. This severe discipline was called the *academical course*; and it was wisely designed to prevent the number of professors from multiplying beyond measure, and also to prevent such as were destitute of erudition and abilities from assuming an office, which was justly looked upon as of high importance. They who had satisfied all the demands of this academical law, and had gone through the formidable trial with applause, were solemnly invested with the dignity of *professors*, and were saluted *masters* with a certain round of ceremonies, that were used in the societies of illiterate tradesmen, when their company was augmented by a new candidate. This vulgar custom had been in-

The academical course.

[*e*] See Herm. Conringii *Antiquitates Academicae*, a work, however, susceptible of considerable improvements. The important work mentioned in the preceding note, and which is divided into six volumes, deserves to be principally consulted in this point, as well as in all others that relate to the history and government of the university of *Paris*; add to this Claud. Hemeræi *Liber de Academia Parisiensi, qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis, Lutet.* 1637, in 4to.

[*f*] See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 223.—Du Fresne's *Annotations upon the Life of St. Louis*, written by Joinville, p. 36.

roduced,

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troduced, in the preceding century, by the professors of law in the academy of *Bologna*; and, in this century, it was transmitted to that of *Paris*, where it was first practised by the divinity-colleges, and afterwards by the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. In this account of the trial and installation of the professors of *Paris*, we may perceive the origin of what we now call *academical degrees*, which, like all other human institutions, have miserably degenerated from the wise ends for which they were at first appointed, and grow more insignificant from day to day [g].

The state of
polite literature.

V. These public institutions, consecrated to the advancement of learning, were attended with remarkable success; but that branch of erudition, which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived less advantage from them than the other sciences. The industrious youth either applied themselves entirely to the study of the civil and canon laws, which was a sure path to preferment, or employed their labours in philosophical researches, in order to the attainment of a shining reputation, and of the applause that was lavished upon such as were endowed with a subtle and metaphysical genius. Hence arose the bitter complaints of the pontiffs and other bishops, of the neglect and decline of the liberal arts and sciences; and hence also the zealous, but unsuccessful efforts they used to turn the youth from jurisprudence and philosophy, to the study of humanity and philology [b]. Notwithstanding all this, the

[g] Besides the writers above-mentioned, see Jo. Chr. Itterus, *de Gradibus Academicis*.—Just. Hen. Böhmmer, *Pref. ad Jus Canonicum*, p. 14.—Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 24.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 256. 682, &c.

[b] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265. where there is an epistle of Innocent III. who seems to take this matter seriously to heart.—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124.—Imola in *Dantem*, in *Muratori's Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1262.

thir-

thirteenth century produced several writers, who were very far from being contemptible, such as William Brito [*i*], Walter Mapes [*k*], Matthew of Vendosme, Alain de l'Isle [*l*], Guntherus, James of Vitri, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians, the first place is due to Matthew Paris, a writer of the highest merit, both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add Roderic Ximenes, Rigord [*m*], Vincent of Beauvais, Robert of St. Marino [*n*], Martinus, a native of Poland, Gervase of Tilbury [*o*], Conrad of Lichtnau, and William Nangius, whose names are worthy of being preserved from oblivion. The writers who have laboured to transmit to posterity the lives and exploits of the saints, have rather related the superstitions and miseries of the times, than the actions of those holy men. Among these biographers, James of Vitri, mentioned above, makes the greatest figure; he also composed a *History of the Lombards*, that is full of insipid and trifling stories [*p*].

[*i*] See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 255.

[*k*] Jo. Wolff, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

[*l*] Called in Latin, Alanus ab Insulis.

[*m*] See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 243. which also gives an ample account of William of Nangis, p. 292.

[*n*] See Le Boeuf, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tome ii. p. 490. where there is also a learned account of Vincent of Beauvais, p. 494.

[*o*] Gervase of Tilbury was nephew to Henry II. king of England, and was in high credit with the emperor Otho IV. to whom he dedicated a description of the world and a Chronicle, both of which he had himself composed. He wrote also a *History of England*, and one of the Holy Land, with several treatises upon different subjects.

[*p*] See Schellhornii *Amenitates Literariae*, tom. xi. p. 324.
VI. Roger

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The study of
the Greek
and Oriental
languages.

VI. Roger Bacon [q], John Balbi, and Robert Capito, with other learned men, whose number, however, was inconsiderable, applied themselves to the study of Greek literature. The Hebrew language and theology were much less cultivated; though it appears that Bacon and Capito, already mentioned, and Raymond Martin, author of an excellent treatise, entitled, *Pugio Fidei Christianæ*, or, *The Dagger of the Christian Faith*, were extremely well versed in that species of *erudition*. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the Dominican friars, made themselves masters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of *Spain* had charged the latter with the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions [r]. As to the Latin grammarians, the best of them were extremely barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have only to cast an eye upon the productions of Alexander de Villa Dei, who was looked upon as the most eminent of them all, and whose works were read in almost all the schools from this period until the sixteenth century. This pedantic Franciscan composed, in

✂ [?] This illustrious Franciscan, in point of genius and universal learning, was one of the greatest ornaments of the British nation, and in general of the republic of letters. The astonishing discoveries he made in astronomy, chemistry, optics, and mathematics, made him pass for a magician in the ignorant and superstitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philosophy, theology, and the Greek and Oriental languages, procured him, with more justice, the title of the *admirable or wonderful doctor*. Among other discoveries, he is said to have made that of the composition and force of gunpowder, which he describes clearly in one of his letters; and he proposed much the same correction of the calendar, which was executed about 300 years after by Gregory XIII. He composed an extraordinary number of books, of which a list may be seen in the *Gener.*

[r] See Rich. 2. c. 1. p. 112. and Nic. Antonii B.

the year 1240, what he called a *Doctrinale*, in *Leonine* verse, full of the most wretched quibbles, and in which the rules of grammar and criticism are delivered with the greatest confusion and obscurity, or rather, are covered with impenetrable darkness.

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VII. The various systems of philosophy that were in vogue before this century, lost their credit by degrees, and submitted to the triumphant doctrine of Aristotle, which erected a new and despotic empire in the republic of letters, and reduced the whole ideal world under its lordly dominion. Several of the works of this philosopher, and more especially his metaphysical productions, had been, so early as the beginning of this century, translated into Latin at *Paris*, and were from that time explained to the youth in the public schools [s]. But when it appeared, that Almeric [t] had drawn from these books his

The state of
philosophy.

[s] Franc. Patricii *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145. Jo. Launoïus *de varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Parisiensi*, cap. i. p. 127. ed. *Elswich*. It is commonly reported, that the books of Aristotle here mentioned, were translated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told positively, that these books were brought from *Constantinople*, and translated from Greek into Latin. See Rigord's work *de gestis Philippi regis Francorum ad A. 1209*. in Andr. Chesnii *Script. Hist. Franc.* p. 119.

☞ [t] Almeric, or Amauri, does not seem to have entertained any enormous errors. He held, that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and attached, perhaps, some extravagant and fanatical ideas to that opinion; but his followers fell into more pernicious notions, and adopted the most odious tenets, maintaining, that the power of the Father continued no longer than the Mosaic dispensation; that the empire of the Son extended only to the thirteenth century; and that then the reign of the Holy Ghost commenced, when all sacraments and external worship were to be abolished, and the salvation of Christians was to be accomplished merely by internal acts of illuminating grace. Their morals also were their doctrine was absurd; and, under the name comprehended and committed the most criminality and licentiousness.

erroneous

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erroneous sentiments concerning the divine nature, they were prohibited and condemned as pernicious and pestilential, by a public decree of the council of *Sens*, in the year 1209 [*u*]. The logic of Aristotle, however, recovered its credit some years after this, and was publicly taught in the university of *Paris* in the year 1215; but the natural philosophy and metaphysics of that great man were still under the sentence of condemnation [*w*]. It was reserved for the emperor Frederick II. to restore the Stagirate to his former glory, which this prince effected by employing a number of learned men, whom he had chosen with the greatest attention and care [*x*], and who were profoundly versed in the knowledge of the languages, to translate into Latin, from the Greek and Arabic, certain books of Aristotle, and of other ancient sages. This translation, which was recommended, in a particular manner, to the academy of *Bologna* by the learned emperor, raised the credit of Aristotle to the greatest height, and gave him an irresistible and despotic authority in all the European schools. This authority

☞ [*u*] Dr. Mosheim has fallen here into two light mistakes. It was at *Paris*, and not at *Sens*, and in the year 1210, and not in 1209, that the metaphysical books of Aristotle were condemned to the flames. The works quoted here by our author are those of Launoy, *de varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iv. p. 195. and *Syllabus rationum quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. op.

[*w*] Nat. Alexander, *Sele&. Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. sect. 7. p. 76.

[*x*] Petr. de Vineis, *Epist.* lib. iii. ep. lxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed "ad magistros et scholares Bononienses." i. e. "to the masters and scholars of the academy of Bologna:" but it is more than probable, that the emperor sent letters upon this occasion to the other European schools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of Aristotle, that were then extant, translated into Latin about the year 1220; but this cannot be deduced from the letter above mentioned, or from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.

was still farther augmented by the translations which were made of some of the books of the Grecian sage by several Latin interpreters, such as Michael Scot, Philip of *Tripoli*, William Fleming, and others; though these men were quite unequal to the task they undertook, and had neither such knowledge of the languages, nor such an acquaintance with philosophy, as were necessary to the successful execution of such a difficult enterprise [y].

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VIII. The Aristotelian philosophy received the very last addition that could be made to its authority and lustre, when the Dominican and Franciscan friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their schools, and illustrated it in their writings. These two mendicant orders were looked upon as the chief depositories of all learning, both human and divine; and were followed, with the utmost eagerness and assiduity, by all such as were ambitious of being distinguished from the multitude by superior knowledge. Alexander Hales, an English Franciscan, who taught philosophy at *Paris*, and acquired, by the strength of his metaphysical genius, the title of the Irrefragable Doctor [z], and Albert the Great, a German of the Dominican order, and bishop of *Ratisbon*, a man of great abilities, and an universal dictator

Thomas Aquinas and others adopt and maintain the Aristotelian system.

[y] See Wood's account of the interpreters of Aristotle, in his *Antiquitat. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119. as also Jebb's *Preface* to the *Opus Majus* of the famous Roger Bacon, published at *London* in folio, in the year 1733. We shall give here the opinion which Bacon had of the translators of Aristotle, in the words of that great man, who expresses his contempt of these wretched interpreters in the following manner: "Si haberem potestatem supra libros Aristotelis (*Latine conversos*), ego facerem omnes cremari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio studere in illis, et causa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantie, ultra id quod valet explicari."

[z] See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233.—*De Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200. 673.

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at this time [a], were the first eminent writers who illustrated, in their learned productions, the Aristotelian system. But it was the disciple of Albert Thomas Aquinas, the *Angelic Doctor*, and the great luminary of the scholastic world, that contributed most to the glory of the Stagirite [b], by inculcating, illustrating, and enforcing his doctrines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and principally by engaging one of his learned colleagues to give, under his inspection, a new translation of the works of the Grecian sage, which far surpassed the former version in exactness, perspicuity, and elegance [c]. By these means the philosophy of Aristotle, notwithstanding the hostile efforts of several divines, and even of the Roman pontiffs themselves, who beheld its progress with an unfriendly eye, triumphed in all the Latin schools, and absorbed all the other systems that had flourished before this literary revolution.

The limits of
officiance are
extended by
several eminent
men.

IX. There were, however, at this time in Europe several persons of superior genius and penetration, who, notwithstanding their respect for Aristotle, considered the method of treating philosophy, which his writings had introduced, as

[a] Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Latina medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 113.

[b] The Dominicans maintain, that this Angelic Doctor was the disciple of Albert the Great, and their opinion seems to be founded in truth. See Antoine Tournon, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 99. The Franciscans, however, maintain as obstinately, that Alexander Hales was the master of Thomas. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

[c] It has been believed by many, that William de Moerbeke, a native of Flanders, of the Dominican order, and archbishop of Corinth, was the author of the new Latin translation of the works of Aristotle, which was carried on and finished under the auspicious inspection of Thomas Aquinas. See J. Echard, *Scriptores Dominican.* tom. i. p. 388. 469. Casim. Oudin, *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. Jo. Franc. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others, however, suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation was composed by Henry Kosbein, who was also a Dominican.

dry,

dry, inelegant, and fit only to confine and damp the efforts of the mind in the pursuit of truth; and who, consequently, were desirous of enlarging the sphere of science by new researches and discoveries [d]. At the head of these noble adventurers we may justly place Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar of the English nation, known by the appellation of the *admirable doctor*, who was renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times [e].

[d] Bacon's contempt of the learning that was in vogue in his time may be seen in the following passage quoted by Jebb, in his *Preface* to the *Opus Majus* of that great man: "Nunquam fuit tanta apparentia sapientiar, nec tantum exercitium studii in tot facultatibus, in tot regionibus, sicut jam a quadraginta annis: ubique enim doctores sunt dispersi . . . in omni civitate, et in omni castro, et in omni burgo, precipue per duos ordines studentes (he means the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were almost the only religious orders that distinguished themselves by an application to study) quod non accidit, nisi a quadraginta annis aut circiter, cum tamen nunquam fuit tanta ignorantia, tantus error . . . Vulgus studentium languet et asinumat circa mala translata (by these wretched versions he understands the works of Aristotle, which were most miserably translated by ignorant bunglers) et tempus et studium amittit in omnibus et expensas. Apparentia quidem sola tenet eos, et non curant quid sciant, sed quid videantur scire coram multitudine insensata." Thus, according to Bacon, in the midst of the most specious appearance of science, the greatest ignorance and the grossest errors reigned almost universally.

[e] That Bacon deserves this high rank in the learned world appears evidently from his book, entitled *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to pope Clement IV. and which Jebb published at London in 1733, from a manuscript that still exists in the university of Dublin, enriching it with a learned preface and a considerable number of judicious observations. The other works of Bacon, which are very numerous, lie for the most part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, see Wood. *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136.—Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 161. tom. v. p. 51.—Thom. Gale, *ad Jamblicum de Myseriis Egyptior.* p. 255. *General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary.*

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With him we may associate Arnold of *Villa Nova*, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in *France*, by others in *Spain*, and who acquired a shining reputation by his knowledge in chemistry, poetry, philosophy, languages, and physic [f]; as also Peter d'Abano, a physician of *Padua*, who was surnamed the *Reconciler*, from a book he wrote in the hope of terminating the dissensions and contests that reigned among the philosophers and physicians [g], and who was profoundly versed in the sciences of philosophy, astronomy, physic, and mathematics [h]. It must, however, be observed, to the eternal dishonour of the age, that the only fruits which these great men derived from their learned labours, and their noble, as well as successful, efforts for the advancement of the arts and sciences, were the furious clamours of an enraged and superstitious multitude, who looked upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirsted so eagerly after their blood, that they escaped with difficulty the hands of the public executioner. Bacon was confined many years in a loathsome prison; and the other two were, after their death, brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, and declared worthy of being committed to the flames for the novelties they had introduced into the republic of letters.

The study
of law and
physic.

X. The state of theology, and the method of teaching and representing the doctrines of Chris-

[f] See Nic. Antonii *Biblioth. vetus Hispan.* tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74.—Pierre Joseph, *Vie d'Arnaud de Ville-neuve*, Aix, 1719.—Niceron, *Memoires des hommes illustres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82.—Nicol. Eymerici *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 282. where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

[g] This book was entitled, *Cenciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum*.

[h] There is a very accurate account of this philosopher given by Joh. Maria Mazzuchelli, *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano*, in Augeli Calogerae *Opusculi Scientifici et Philologici*, tom. xiii. p. i.—54.

tianity

tianity that now prevailed, shall be mentioned in their place. The civil and canon laws held the first rank in the circle of the sciences, and were studied with a peculiar zeal and application by almost all who were ambitious of literary glory. But these sciences, notwithstanding the assiduity with which they were cultivated, were far from being, as yet, brought to any tolerable degree of perfection. They were disfigured by the jargon that reigned in the schools, and were corrupted and rendered intricate by a multitude of trivial commentaries that were intended to illustrate and explain them. Some employed their labours in collecting the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which are commonly known under the title of *Decretals* [*i*], and which were deemed a very important branch of ecclesiastical law. Raimond of Pennafort, a native of *Barcelona*, was the most famous of all these compilers, and acquired a considerable reputation by his collection of the *Decretals* in five books, which he undertook at the desire of Gregory IX. and which has been since honoured with the name of that pontiff, who ordered it to be added to the *Decretals* of Gratian, and to be read in all the European colleges [*k*]. Towards the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. caused a new collection to be made, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of Decretals*, because it was added to the five already mentioned.

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[*i*] See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 98.

[*k*] Ger. a Maestricht, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, lect. 353. p. 384.—Jo. Cliffllet, *de Juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60.—Echard et Quetif, *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 166.—*Ada Sander. Antwerp.* tom. i. *Januarii ad d. vii.* p. 404.

CHAP. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church,
and its form of government, during this century.*

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The cor-
ruption of
the clergy,

I. BOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked beyond measure by the flagitious lives of their spiritual rulers and instructors, complain loudly of their licentious manners, and load them with the severest reproaches; nor will these complaints and reproaches appear excessive to such as are acquainted with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age [7]. Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the church had carried its pernicious streams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous enterprise. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the infelicity of the times, and the various calamities and tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even shook the throne on which they sat; while the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstition of the age, hindered the Latins from accomplishing, or even attempting, a reformation in the church.

and of the
Roman
pontiffs.

II. In the history of the popes, we meet with a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that dishonoured the ministers of the church, who were peculiarly required, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished mo-

[7] See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontiff, Gregory IX. to the archbishop of *Bourges*, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infected all the various orders of the clergy, and which is published by Dion. Sammarthanus, in his *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. in *Append.* p. 21.—See also Du Fresne, *Annotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sti.* p. 99.

deals of piety and virtue. Such members of the sacerdotal order as were advanced to places of authority in the church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and shewed manifestly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an absolute and unlimited dominion. The popes, more especially, inculcated this pernicious maxim, "That the bishop of *Rome* is the supreme lord of the universe, and that neither princes nor bishops, civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power in church or state, but what they derive from him." This extravagant maxim, which was considered as the sum and substance of papal jurisprudence, the Roman pontiffs obstinately maintained, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could suggest, to give it the force of an universal law. It was in consequence of this arrogant pretension, that they not only claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical *benefices*, as they are commonly called, but also of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning kings and emperors, according to their good pleasure. It is true this maxim was far from being universally adopted; many placed the authority of councils above that of the pontiffs, and such of the European kings and princes as were not ingloriously blinded and enslaved by the superstition of the times, asserted their rights with dignity and success, excluded the pontiffs from all concern in their civil transactions, and even reserved to themselves the supremacy over the churches that were established in their dominions [m]. In thus opposing the haughty

[m] As a specimen of this, the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III. and the emperor Otho IV. which have been collected by the learned George Christ. Gebauer, in his *History of the Emperor Richard*, written in German, p. 611.—614. Other princes, and more especially the kings of *England* and *France*, displayed, in the defence of their rights and privileges, the same zeal that animated Otho.

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pretensions of the lordly pontiffs, it was, indeed, necessary to proceed with mildness, caution, and prudence, on account of the influence which these spiritual tyrants had usurped over the minds of the people, and the power they had of alarming princes, by exciting their subjects to rebellion.

The power
of creating
bishops, ab-
bots, &c.
claimed by
the pontiffs.

III. In order to establish their authority, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest foundations, the Roman pontiffs assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating *bishops*, *abbots*, and *canons*, according to their fancy. Thus we see the heads of the church, who formerly disputed with such ardour against the emperors in favour of the free election of *bishops* and *abbots*, overturning now all the laws that related to the election of these spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places upon their clients and their creatures, and often deposing *bishops* that had been duly and lawfully elected, and substituting others for them with a high hand [*n*]. The hypocritical pretexts for all these arbitrary proceedings were an ardent zeal for the welfare of the church, and an anxious concern, lest devouring *heretics* should get a footing among the flock of *Christ* [*o*]. The first pontiff who usurped such an extravagant extent of authority, was Innocent III. whose example was followed by Honorius III.

[*n*] Many examples of this may be taken from the history of this century. See Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 443. 466. 470. 488. 491.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. *Append.*—Wadding, *Annal. Minor. in Diplom.*—Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201.

[*o*] See the *Epistle* of Innocent IV. in Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 468.

Gregory IX. and several of their successors. But it was keenly opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, and still more effectually by the kings of *England* and *France*, who employed the force of warm remonstrances and vigorous edicts to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence [p]. Louis IX. king of *France*, and now the tutelar saint of that nation, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to these papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before he set out for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican church against the insidious attempts of the popes, by that famous edict, known in *France* by the name of the *pragmatic sanction* [q]. This resolute and prudent measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not deter them from the prosecution of their purpose. For Boniface VIII. maintained, in the most express and impudent terms, that the universal church was under the dominion of the pontiffs, and that princes and lay patrons, councils and chapters, had no more power in spiritual things, than what they derived from Christ's vicar upon earth.

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IV. The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces, to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or the like considerations [r];

The authority of the pope's legates.

[p] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 659. and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

[q] Boulay, tom. iii. p. 389.

[r] See Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. &c.

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extorted money from the people, by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themselves, the ringleaders of the most furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious traffic of *relics* and *indulgences*, and distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy still more heinous than the practices now mentioned. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the flagitious conduct and the enormous crimes of the pope's legates [s]. We even see pope Alexander IV. enacting, in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers [t], which, however, they easily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of *Rome*.

The wealth
and revenues of the
pontiffs augmented.

V. From the ninth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under Innocent III. and Nicolas II. partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. Innocent, as soon as he was seated in the papal chair, reduced under his jurisdiction the præfect of *Rome*, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized the territories of *Ancona*, *Spoletto*, and *Affisi*, the town of *Montebello*, and various cities and fortresses which had, according to him, been un-

[s] See that judicious and excellent writer Matth. Paris, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313. 316. 549. and particularly p. 637. where we find the following remarkable words: "Semper solent legati, et omnes nuncii papales, regna quæ ingrediuntur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare." See also Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 659.

[t] This edict is published by Lami, in his *Delicie Eruditæ*, tom. ii. p. 300.

justly

justly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter [u]. On the other hand, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV., loaded the Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the pope's brother [w], but also permitted Richard, count of *Fundi*, to bequeath all his possessions to the Roman see [x], and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendour and wealth of the church. Nicolas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, if some were plausible, many were altogether groundless, or, at least, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes subject to the emperor were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicolas reduced under his temporal dominion several territories in *Italy*, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly *Romania* and *Bologna*. It was therefore under these two pontiffs that the see of *Rome* arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of gran-

[u] See Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161.—Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 328.

[w] This brother of the pontiff was called Richard. See, for an account of this transaction, Muratori's fifth volume, p. 652.

[x] Odor. Raynaldus, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad annum 1212.*

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The tyrannic pontificate of Innocent III. proved by several examples.

deur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times [y].

VI. Innocent III. who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of Gregory VII. and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but also claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his lordly sceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance [z] clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. In *Asia* and *Europe*, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In *Asia*, he gave a king to the Armenians: in *Europe*, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, duke of *Bohemia* [a]. The same year, he sent to Johanicus, duke of *Bulgaria* and *Walachia*, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of *Arragon*, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the church, and saluted him publicly at *Rome*, with the title of king [b]. We omit many other examples of this phrenetic pretension to universal empire, which might be produced from the *letters* of this arrogant pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which *Europe* beheld with astonishment, but also, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience.

[y] Raynaldus, *ad annum* 1278.

[z] See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Maj.* p. 206. 230.

[a] Other historians affirm, that it was the emperor Philip, that conferred the royal dignity upon Primislaus, in order to strengthen his party against Otho.

[b] Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tome iv. p. 8.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman see formidable to the greatest European monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves. When the empire of *Germany* was disputed, towards the commencement of this century, between Philip, duke of *Suabia*, and Otho IV. third son of Henry the Lion, he espoused at first the cause of Otho, thundered out his excommunications against Philip, and, upon the death of the latter (which happened in the year 1209,) placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to this pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and Innocent, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised in his place Frederic II. his pupil, the son of Henry VI. and king of the two *Sicilies*, to the imperial throne in the year 1212 [c]. The same pontiff excommunicated Philip Augustus, king of *France*, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingelburg, a princess of *Denmark*, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity [d].

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonourable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontiff, as John, surnamed *Sans-Terre*, king of *England*. This prince

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[c] All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

[d] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 8. Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tome iii. p. 475. Gerard du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 204—257.

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vigorously opposed the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of *Canterbury* to chuse Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Grey to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority [e]. The pope, after having consecrated Langton at *Viterbo*, wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of *Canterbury*, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff, that, if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of *Canterbury*, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in *England*. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that, in the year 1208, he sent orders to the bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, and *Ely*, to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in case of the monarch's refusal to yield, and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to

✠ [e] Dr. Mosheim passes lightly over this rupture between king John and Innocent III. mentioning in a few lines the interdict under which *England* was laid by that pontiff, the excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the impious act by which he absolved the English from their allegiance. The translator, however, thought this event of too great importance to be treated with such brevity, and has, therefore, taken the liberty to enlarge considerably this eighth section, which contains only twelve lines in the original.

confirm

confirm the election made at *Rome*; but, in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut in every parish; all the sacraments were suspended except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But, notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service; and several learned and respectable divines, among whom were the bishops of *Winchester* and *Norwich*, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

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The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued in the year 1209, was followed about two years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of *England* vacant, and authorised Philip Augustus, king of *France*, to execute this sentence, undertake the conquest of *England*, and unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of this expedition, and promising, to such as would assist Philip in this grand enterprise,

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prise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in *Palestine*. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of *England*. The king of *England*, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at *Dover*, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to avert the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that town, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and then received it as a present from the see of *Rome*, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory [*f*]. In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent, of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for *England*, and

[*f*] For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195. As also, Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 67. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tome ii. p. 304.

three hundred for *Ireland*, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission now stipulated, to the see of Rome, should forfeit all right to the British crown [g]. "This shameful ceremony" was performed, says a modern historian [b], "on Ascension-day, in the house of the Templars at *Dover*, in the midst of a great concourse of people, who beheld it with confusion and indignation. John, in doing homage to the pope, presented a sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet, as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the archbishop of *Dublin* exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown and sceptre five whole days, and then restored them as a special favour of the Roman see. John was despised before this extraordinary resignation; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon a throne: while he himself seemed altogether insensible of his disgrace."

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IX. Innocent III. was succeeded in the pontificate by Cencio Savelli, who, assuming the title of Honorius III. ruled the church above ten years, and whose government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits as those of his predecessor, discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism, of the Roman see. It

Honorius
III.

✠ [g] *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the *Charter of resignation*, which may be seen at length in the *Hist. Major* of Matthew Paris.

[b] Dr. Smollet.

was

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was in consequence of this zeal that the new pontiff opposed the measures, and drew upon himself the indignation of Frederic II. that magnanimous prince, on whose head he himself had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown. This spirited prince, following the steps of his illustrious grandfather, had formed the resolution of confirming the authority, and extending the jurisdiction of the emperors in *Italy*, of depressing the small states of *Lombardy*, and reducing to narrower limits the immense credit and opulence of the pontiffs and bishops; and it was with a view to the execution of these grand projects, that he deferred the execution of the solemn vow, by which he had engaged himself to lead a formidable army against the infidels of *Palestine*. The pontiff, on the other hand, urged with importunity the emperor's departure, encouraged, animated, and strengthened, by secret succours, the *Italian* states that opposed his pretensions, and resisted the progress of his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could suggest. These contests, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

The calamities that arose from the ambition of Gregory IX.

X. In the year 1227, Hugolin, bishop of *Ostia*, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, or diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX. and kindled the feuds and dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, in defiance of justice and equity, he excommunicated the emperor for delaying his expedition against the Saracens to another year, though the postponement manifestly arose from a fit season, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark for *Palestine*. To the emperor, Frederic

at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land; but, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as we have already had occasion to observe, he entered into a truce with Saladin, and contented himself with the recovery of *Jerusalem*. The pretended vicar of Christ, forgetting (or rather unwilling to persuade himself) that his master's *kingdom was not of this world*, made war upon the emperor in *Apulia* during his absence [i], and used his utmost efforts to array against him all the European powers. Frederic, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into *Europe* in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in *Sicily* and in *Italy*, and, in the succeeding year, made his peace with the pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; for the emperor could not tamely bear the insolent proceedings and the imperious temper of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of *Lombardy* that were in alliance with the see of *Rome*, seized upon the island of *Sardinia* (which Gregory looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony), and erected it into a kingdom for his son *Entius*. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head in the year 1239. Frederic was publicly excommunicated with all the circumstances of severity, that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies,

☞ [i] Under the feeble reign of Henry III. the pope drew immense sums out of *England* for the support of this impious war, and carried his audacious avarice so far, as to demand the fifth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the whole kingdom.

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by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of *Europe*. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest difficulties. To extricate himself from these perplexities, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at *Rome*, with a view of deposing Frederic by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing pontiff, and apparently contributed to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event [k].

Innocent
IV.

XI. Geoffry, bishop of *Milan*, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV. died before his consecration, and, after a vacancy of twenty months, the apostolic chair was filled by Sinibald, one of the counts of *Fieschi*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243,

[k] Besides the original and authentic writers collected by Muratori, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German and Italian historians, few or none of whom are absolutely free from partiality in their accounts of these unhappy contests between the empire and the papacy, see Petrus de Vineis, *Epistol. lib. i.* and Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*. Add to these Raynaldi *Annal.*—Muratori *Annal. Italia*, tom. vii. & *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It must however be observed, that this branch of history stands yet in need of farther illustrations.

assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury [1]. His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor; and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor [m]. Hence it was that Innocent, not thinking himself safe in any part of *Italy*, set out from *Genoa*, the place of his birth, for *Lyons* in the year 1244, and assembling there a council in the following year, deposed, in presence of its members, though not with their approbation, the emperor Frederic, and declared the imperial throne vacant [n]. This unjust and insolent decree was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, Henry, landgrave of *Thuringia*, and after his death, William count of *Holland*, to the head of the empire. Frederic, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in *Italy*, until a violent dysentery put an end to his life, in *Apulia*, on the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent returned into

[1] See the *Hist. Maj.* of Matthew Paris, *ad annum* 1254, p. 771.

[m] These preliminary conditions were: 1st, That the emperor should give up entirely to the church the inheritance which was left to it by Matilda; and, 2dly, That he would oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the pope should think fit to propose, as conditions of peace.

[n] This assembly is placed in the list of *acumenical* or *general* councils; but it is not acknowledged as such by the *Gallican* church.

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Italy [o], hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called *Guelphs* and *Guibellines*, of which the latter espoused the cause of the emperors, and the former that of the pontiffs, involved all the Italian states in the most calamitous dissensions, though their origin is much earlier than this century [p].

Alexander
IV.

XII. Raynald, count of *Segni*, and bishop of *Ofia*, was raised to the pontificate after the death of Innocent, in the year 1254, and is distinguished in the list of the popes by the name of Alexander IV. During the six years and five months that he governed the see of *Rome*, his time was less employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal state of the church, if we except the measures he took for the destruction of Conradin, grandson of Frederic II. and for composing the tumults that had so long reigned without interruption in *Italy*. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among them the Dominicans and Franciscans, were much favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks of his peculiar bounty.

Urban IV.

He was succeeded in the Roman see, A.D. 1261, by Urban IV. a native of *Troyes*, of obscure birth, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, was patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and after that period was more distinguished by his instituting the *Festival of the Body of Christ*, than by any other circumstance in the course of his reign. He had, indeed, formed several important projects; but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened, in the year 1264, after a short

[o] Besides the writers already mentioned, see Nicol. de Curbio, *Vit. Innocentii IV.* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

[p] See Muratori, *Dissertat. de Guelphis et Guibellinis*, in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

reign of three years. His successor Guy Fulcodi, or Clement IV. a native of *France*, and bishop of *Sabino*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name, however, makes a greater figure in history, and was rendered famous in many respects, and more especially by his conferring the kingdom of *Naples* upon Charles of *Anjou*, brother to Louis IX. king of *France*. The consequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of Conradin, the last descendant of Frederic II. (who, after an unfortunate battle fought against Charles, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent, of the Roman pontiff), are well known to such as have the smallest acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times.

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XIII. Upon the death of Clement IV. [q], there arose warm and vehement contests among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontiff. These debates, which kept the Roman see vacant during the space of almost three years, were at length terminated in favour of Theobald, a native of *Placentia*, and archbishop of *Liege*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of Gregory X. [r]. This devout ecclesiastic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart, as the desire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council at *Lyons*, in the year 1274, in

Gregory X.

[q] Which happened in November, 1268.

[r] The records of this election are published by Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

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which the relief and maintenance of the Christians in *Palestine*, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two points that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character and sentiments of the new pope we shall only observe, that though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of Gregory VII. which declared the bishop of *Rome* lord of the world, and, in a more particular manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this presumptuous system, that in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes; in which, deaf to the pretensions and remonstrances of Alphonso, king of *Castile* [*s*], he ordered them to elect an emperor without delay, assuring them, that if they did not do it immediately, he would do it for them. This letter produced the designed effect; an electoral diet was assembled at *Frankfort*, and Rodolphus, count of *Hapsburg*, was raised to the imperial throne.

☞ [*s*] Alphonso, king of *Castile*, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbishop of *Treves*, the duke of *Saxony*, the margrave of *Brandenburg*, and the king of *Bohemia*, in opposition to Richard, duke of *Cornwall*, brother of Henry III. king of *England*, who was at the same time raised to the same dignity by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*.

XIV. Gregory X. was succeeded, in the year 1276, by Peter of *Tarentaise*, of the Dominican order, and bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the name of Innocent V. and died about four months after his election. Ottoboni, a native of *Genoa*, and cardinal of *St. Adrian*, was chosen in his place, took the title of Adrian V. [*t*], and, after having ruled the church during five weeks, was succeeded by Peter Julian, bishop of *Tusculum*, who enjoyed that high dignity about eight months, and is distinguished in the papal list by the name of John XXI. [*u*]. The see of *Rome* continued vacant for about six months after the death of the last-mentioned pontiff, but was at length filled, in the month of November, 1277, by John Caietan, of the family of *Ursini*, cardinal of *St. Nicholas*, whose name he adopted for his papal title. This famous pontiff (as has been already observed) augmented greatly both the opulence and authority of the bishops of *Rome*, and had formed vast projects, which his undaunted courage and his remarkable activity would have enabled him, without doubt, to execute with success, had not death blasted his hopes, and disconcerted his ambitious schemes.

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Innocent V.
Adrian V.
John XXI.
Nicolas III.

XV. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about six months after his departure from this life, by Simon de Brie, who adopted the name of Martin IV. and was not inferior to Nicolas III. in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during his pontificate. Michael Palæologus, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes whom this

Martin IV.
Nicolas IV.

✠ [*t*] We read in the Latin, Adrian VI. which is more probably an error of the press, than a fault of the author.

✠ [*u*] In the original, Dr. Mosheim observes, that these three successors of Gregory were elected and carried off by death in the year 1276; but here he has fallen into a slight mistake; for John XXI. died on the 16th of May, 1277.

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audacious priest solemnly excommunicated; and the pretext was, that he had broken the peace concluded between the Greek and Latin churches, at the council of *Lions* [*w*]. The same insult was committed against Peter, king of *Arragon*, whom Martin not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon *Sicily*, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and possessions to Charles, son of Philip the Bold [*x*], king of *France*. It was during the execution of such daring enterprises as these, and while he was meditating still greater things for the glory of the Roman hierarchy, that a sudden death, in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his schemes unfinished. They were, however, prosecuted with great spirit by his successor, James Savelli, who chose the denomination of Honorius IV. but was also stopped short in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. Jerome d'Alcoli, bishop of *Palestrina*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of Nicolas IV. distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decision; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; and occasionally we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity, every probable method of propagating the gospel among the

[*w*] This council had been holden under the pontificate of Gregory X.

[*x*] Philippe le Hardi, as he is called by the French.

Tartars

Tartars and other eastern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied most the thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontiff, was the desperate state of the Christians in *Palestine*, who were now reduced to an extremity of misery and weakness. His laborious efforts were therefore employed for the restoration of their former grandeur; they were however employed in vain; and his death, which happened in the year 1292, disconcerted all the projects he had formed for that purpose.

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XVI. The death of this pontiff was followed by a vacancy of two years in the see of *Rome*, in consequence of the disputes that arose among the cardinals about the election of a new pope. These disputes were at length terminated, and the contending parties united their suffrages in favour of Peter, surnamed De Murrone, from a mountain where he had hitherto lived in the deepest solitude, and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was raised to the pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed the name of Celestine V. But the austerity of his manners, being a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration (which shewed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increase of its opulence and the propagation of its authority) that he was almost universally considered as unworthy of the pontificate. Hence it was, that several of the cardinals, and particularly Benedict Caietan, advised him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted with such reluctance; and they had the pleasure

Celestine V.

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pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity in the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the castle of *Funone*, where his tyrannic and suspicious successor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the solicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church, and he was elevated to the rank of a saint by Clement V. It was from him that the branch of the Benedictine order, called *Celestines*, yet subsisting in *France* and *Italy*, derived its origin [y].

Boniface
VIII.

XVII. Benedict Caietan, who had persuaded the good pontiff now mentioned to resign his place, succeeded him in it in the year 1294, with the name of Boniface VIII. We may say, with truth, of this unworthy prelate, that he was born to be a plague both to church and state, a disturber of the repose of nations, and that his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to phrensy. As soon as he entered upon his new dignity, he claimed a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, entitled, *the Sixth Book of the Decretals*, declared war against the illustrious family of *Colonna*, who disputed his title to the pontificate [z]; in a

[y] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 180.

[z] The reasons which they alleged for disputing the title of Boniface to the pontificate were, that the resignation of Celestine was not *cane* brought by fraudulent means

word, exhibited to the church, and to *Europe*, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII. whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance [*a*]. It was this pontiff that, in the year 1300, instituted the famous jubilee, which, since that time, has been regularly celebrated in the Roman church at fixed periods. But the consideration of this institution, which was so favourable to the progress of licentiousness and corruption, as also the other exploits of Boniface, and his deplorable end, belong to the history of the following century [*b*].

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PART III

XVIII. In the Lateran council that was holden in the year 1215, a decree had passed, by the advice of Innocent III. to prevent the introduction of *new religions*, by which were meant new monastic institutions. This decree, however, seemed to be very little respected, either by that pontiff or his successors, since several religious orders, hitherto unknown in the Christian world, were not only tolerated, but were distinguished by peculiar marks of approbation and favour, and enriched with various privileges and prerogatives. Nor will this tacit abrogation of the decree of Innocent appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of the church in this century. For, not to mention many enormities that contributed to the suspension of this decree, we shall only observe, that the enemies of Christianity, and the *heretical* sects, increased daily every where; and, on the other hand, the *secular*

New monastic orders.

[*a*] There is a history of this pontiff written by Jo. Rubeus, a Benedictine monk, whose work, which is entitled *Bonifacius VIII. e familia Guiscardorum principum Romanus pontifex*, was published at Rome in the year 1651, in 4to.

[*b*] In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed Papebroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his *Annales* consulting at the same time the original sources collected by the last-mentioned author in his *Rerum Italicarum*

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clergy were more attentive to their worldly advantages than to the interests of the church, and spent in mirth and jollity the opulence with which the piety of their ancestors had enriched that sacred body. The monastic orders also had almost all degenerated from their primitive sanctity, and, exhibiting the most offensive examples of licentiousness and vice to public view, rendered by their flagitious lives the cause of heresy triumphant, instead of retarding its progress. All these things being considered, it was thought necessary to encourage the establishment of new monastic societies, who, by the sanctity of their manners, might attract the esteem and veneration of the people; and diminish the indignation which the tyranny and ambition of the pontiffs had so generally excited; and who, by their diligence and address, their discourses and their arguments, their power and arms, when these violent means were required, might discover, persecute, convert, and vanquish, the growing tribe of heretics.

Several of
the monastic
institutions are
suppressed.

XIX. Of the religious societies that arose in this century, some are now entirely suppressed, while others continue to flourish, and are in high repute. Among the former we may reckon the *Humiliati* (a title expressive of great humility and self-abasement), whose origin may be traced to a much earlier period than the present century, though their order was confirmed and new-modeled by Innocent III. who subjected it to the rule of St. Benedict. These humble monks became so shockingly licentious in process of time, that, in the year 1571, pope Pius V. was obliged to dissolve their society [c]. We may also place, in the list of suppressed fraternities, the *Jacobins*, who were

[c] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vi. p. 152.

erected

rected into a religious order by Innocent III. [d], and who, in this very century, not long after the council of *Lyons*, were deprived of their charter; and also the *Valli-Scholares*, or *Scholars of the Valley*, so called from their being instituted by the *scholares*, i. e. the four professors of divinity in the university of *Paris*, and from a deep vale in the province of *Champagne* in which they assembled and fixed their residence in the year 1234 [e]. This society, whose foundation was laid about the commencement of this century, was formerly governed by the rule of St. Augustin, but is now incorporated into the order of the *Regular Canons of St. Genevieve*. To the same class belong the *order of the blessed Virgin Mary the mother of Christ*, which had its commencement in the year 1266, and was suppressed in 1274 [f]; the *Knights of Faith and Charity*, who undertook to disperse the bands of robbers that infested the public roads in *France*, and who were favoured with the peculiar protection and approbation of Gregory IX. [g]; the *Hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine* [h]; not to mention the *Brethren of the Sack*, the *Bethlehemites*, and some orders of inferior note, that started up in this century, which, of all others, was the most remarkable for the number and variety of monastic establishments, that date their origin from it [i].

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[d] Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 161.

[e] Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 15.—*Annales*. *Mens. Februar*. tom. ii. p. 482.

[f] Dion. Sammarthani *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653.

[g] *Gallia Christi*. tom. i. *Append.* p. 165.—Martenne, *Voyage Liter. de deux Benedictins*, tome ii. p. 23.

[h] Jo. Bollandi *de ordine Eremitar. S. Gulielmi Com. in Anis SS. Februar.* tome ii. p. 472.

[i] Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 815. edit. *Watts*, where speaking of the prodigious number of convents that were founded in *England* during this century, he expresseth himself thus: "Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata."

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The con-
vents that
still subsist.

XX. Among the convents that were founded in this century, and still subsist, the principal place is due to that of the *servites*, i. e. *the servants of the blessed Virgin*, whose order was first instituted, A. D. 1233, in *Tuscany*, by seven Florentine merchants, and afterwards made a great progress under the government of Philip Benizi, its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. Augustin, was erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit [k], and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious number of Christians, that were made prisoners by the Mohammedans in *Palestine*, gave rise, towards the conclusion of the 12th century, to the institution of the order named the *Fraternity of the Trinity*, which, in the following age, received a still greater degree of stability, under the pontificate of Honorius III. and also of Clement IV. The first founders of this institution were John de Matha and Felix de Valois, two pious men who led an austere and solitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the diocese of *Meaux*, which is still the seat of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this society are called the *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*, because all their churches are solemnly dedicated to that profound mystery; they are also styled *Mathurins*, from having a monastery at *Paris* erected in a place where is a chapel consecrated to St. Mathurin, and *Brethren of the redemption of captives* [l], because the grand design of their institution

[k] Besides the ordinary writers of monastic history, see Pauli Florentini *Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servorum*, in *Lamii Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. i. p. 1—48.

[l] Broughton and some other writers make a distinction between the *Order of the redemption of Captives*, and the *Fraternity*, or *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*. They allege, that

tion was to find out means for restoring liberty to the Christian captives in the Holy Land, in which charitable work they were obliged to employ the third part of their revenue. Their manner of life was, at first, extremely abstemious and austere; but its austerity has been from time to time considerably mitigated by the indulgence and lenity of the pontiffs [*m*].

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XXI. The religious society that surpassed all the rest in purity of manners, extent of fame, number of privileges, and multitude of members, was that of the *Mendicant*, or begging friars, whose order was first established in this century, and who, by the tenor of their institution, were to remain entirely destitute of all fixed revenues and possessions. The present state and circumstances of the church rendered the establishment of such an order absolutely necessary. The monastic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were, by the corrupting influence of their ample possessions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost sight of all

The mendicant order.

that the latter order was instituted at *Rome* by St. Philip Neri, in the year 1548, about 350 years after the first establishment of the former; and that the monks who composed it, were obliged by their vow to take care of the pilgrims who resorted from all parts of the world to *Rome*, to visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul.

[*m*] Beside Helvyot and the other writers of monastic history, see Toussaint de Plessis, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tome i. p. 172. and 566. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 523. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the *Order of Asses*; on account of the prohibition of the use of horses, which made a part of their *rule*, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon asses. See Car. du Fresne's *Notes upon Joinville's Life of St. Louis*, p. 81. But at present, through the indulgence of the Roman pontiffs, they are permitted to make use of horses when they find them necessary. An order of the same kind was instituted in *Spain*, in the year 1228; by Paul Nolasco, under the title of the *Order of St. Mary, for the redemption of Captives*. See the *Acta Sanctorum, Januar.* tom. ii. p. 980.

their

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their religious obligations, trampled upon the authority of their superiors, suffered heresy to triumph unrestrained, and the sectaries to form various assemblies; in short, they were incapable of promoting the true interests of the church, and abandoned themselves, without either shame or remorse, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the enemies of the church, the sects which had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life and conduct, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiousness of the latter still more offensive and shocking to the people. These sects maintained, that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of Christ, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed thence as from their natural source, and by their commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendancy over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it absolutely necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might rise so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced, by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from persevering in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs. Innocent III. was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and accordingly he treated such monastic societies as made a

profession of poverty, with the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favour. These associations were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive utility. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to the people, but to the church itself.

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XXII. The great inconvenience that arose from the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by Gregory X. in a general council which he assembled at *Lyons*, in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders, that had sprung up after the council holden at *Rome* in 1215, under the pontificate of Innocent III., were suppressed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*, as Gregory called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, or denominations, viz. the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, the *Carmelites*, and the *Hermits of St. Augustin* [n]. The *Carmelite* order, which had been instituted in *Palestine* during the preceding century, was, in this, transplanted into *Europe*, and, in 1226, was favoured by pope Honorius III. with a place among the monastic societies, which enjoyed the protection and approbation of the church. The *Hermits of St. Augustin* had for their founder

Its history.

[n] *Concil. Lugd. II. A. 1274. Can. xxiii. in Jo. Harduini Conciliis, tom. vii. p. 715. Importuna petentium inhiatio Religionum (so were the religious orders entitled) multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum presumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, precipue mendicantium . . . effrenatam multitudinem adinvenit . . . Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium (i. e. the Lateran council of 1215) adinvenitos . . . perpetua prohibitioni subijcimus.*

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Alexander IV. [o], who, observing that the *Hermits* were divided into several societies, some of which followed the maxims of the famous William, others the rule of St. Augustin, while others again were distinguished by different denominations, formed the judicious project of uniting them all into one religious order, and subjecting them to the same rule of discipline, even that which bears the name of St. Augustin. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

Attracts
the veneration
and esteem of
the public.

XXIII. As the pontiffs allowed to these four Mendicant orders the liberty of traveling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went;—and as these monks exhibited, in their outward appearance and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness, than were observable in the other monastic societies,—they arose as it were at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost esteem and veneration in all the countries of *Europe*. The enthusiastic attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that, as we learn from the most authentic records, several cities were divided, or cantoned out, into four parts, with a view to these four orders; the first part was assigned to the Dominicans; the second, to the Franciscans; the third to the Carmelites; and the fourth, to the Augustinians. The people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the Mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposit there also their remains after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to

[o] This edict of pope Alexander IV. is to be found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110.—See also *Ann. 2. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. 1

whom the cure of souls was committed, and who considered themselves as the spiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the Mendicants end here; for we find in the history of this and of the succeeding ages, that they were employed, not only in spiritual concerns, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet-councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not merely remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with, the monastic character and profession.

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XXIV. We must not however imagine, that all the Mendicant friars attained the same degree of reputation and authority; for the power of the Dominicans and Franciscans surpassed greatly that of the other two orders, and rendered them remarkably conspicuous in the eyes of the world. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost universal and absolute sway, both state and church, filled the highest posts ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities and churches with an authority, before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings, princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardour and equal success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since that happy and glorious period, the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of the state, the secret springs of all the motions of both, and the authors or directors of every great and important event both in the religious and political world. Dominic, ^{ward} by birth, a native of *Calaroga*, of the illustrious house of *Guzman*,

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man, and regular canon of *Osma*, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehemently exasperated by the commotions and contests which the heretics of different denominations had excited in the church, set out for *France* with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries who had multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprize he executed with the greatest vigour, and, we may add, fury, attacking the *Albigenses* and the other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, the subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of the *inquisition*, which owed its form to this violent and sanguinary priest. Passing thence into *Italy*, he was honoured by the Roman pontiffs *Innocent III.* and *Honorius III.* with the most distinguished marks of their protection and favour; and, after many labours in the cause of the church, obtained from them the privilege of erecting a new fraternity, whose principal objects were the extirpation of error and the destruction of heretics. The first rule which he adopted for this society was that of the *Canons of St. Augustin*, to which he added several austere precepts and observances. But he afterwards changed the discipline of the canons for that of the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at *Bologna* in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon all their revenues and possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation; for he died in the following year at *Bologna* [q]. His monks were, at

[q] See Jac. Echard
nic. tom. i. p. 84.—
Nicol. Jansenii *Vita*
to these the long list
Bibliotheca Lat. me.
Bremondi Bullarium



first, distinguished by the denomination of *preaching friars*, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but, in honour of him, they were afterwards called Dominicans [r]. Just before his death, Dominic sent Gilbert de Fresnoy with twelve of the brethren into *England*, where they founded their first monastery at *Oxford* in the year 1221, and, soon after, another at *London*. In 1276, the mayor and aldermen of *London* gave them two whole streets near the river *Thames*, where they erected a very commodious convent, whence that place still bears the name of *Black-Friars*; for so the Dominicans were called in *England*.]

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XXV. Francis, the founder of the celebrated order that bears his name, was the son of a merchant of *Affisi*, in the province of *Umbria*, and led, in his youth a most debauched and dissolute life. Upon his recovery from a severe fit of sickness, which was the consequence and punishment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and, as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked less like religion than alienation of mind. Some time after this [s], he happened to be in a church, where he heard that passage of the scriptures repeated, in which Christ addresses his apostles in the following manner: *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor*

The Franciscans.

[r] The Dominicans are called *Fratres Majores* in several of the ancient records; see Ant. Matthæi *Analeſta vet. avi*, tom. ii. p. 172. This appellation, however, by which the Dominicans were set in opposition to the Franciscans, who call themselves *Fratres Minores*, is rather a term of derision than a real name. In *France* the Dominicans are called *Jacobins*, from the first convent was erected at *Paris*, in the year dedicated to *St. James*, and is still known
t. *Jaques*.

scrip

CENT. XIII. PART II. *scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy of his meat* [t]. This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose chief was undoubtedly a pious and well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had recently recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to Innocent III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by Honorius III. in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder was called from this life in the year 1226. Francis, through an excessive humility, would not suffer the monks of his order to be called *Fratres*, i. e. *brethren*, or *friars*, but *Fratriculi*, i. e. *little brethren*, or *friars-minors* [u], by which denomination they continue to be distinguished [w]. [†] The Franciscans came into Eng-
land

[t] *Matthew*, x. 9, 10.

[u] They were called *Fratricelli* by the Italians, *Freres Mineurs* by the French, and *Fratres Minores* by the Latin writers.

[w] Bonaventura wrote a life of St. Francis, which has passed through several editions. But the most ample and circumstantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by Luke Wadding, in the first volume of his *Annal. Ordinis Minorum*, which contains a complete history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the best edition of which is that published at Rome in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by Joseph Maria Fonseca ab Ebora. It is to the same Wadding that we are obliged for the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which appeared in 4to at Antwerp, in the year 1623, and the latter at Rome, in

land in the reign of Henry III. and their first establishment was at *Canterbury*.]

XXVI. These two orders restored the church from that declining condition in which it had been languishing for many years, by the zeal and activity with which they set themselves to discover and extirpate heretics, to undertake various negotiations and embassies for the interest of the hierarchy, and to confirm the wavering multitude in an implicit obedience to the Roman pontiffs. These spiritual rulers, on the other hand, sensible of their obligations to the new monks, which, no doubt, were very great, not only employed them in every affair they looked upon as of high importance, and raised them to the most eminent stations in the church, but also accumulated, upon them, employments and privileges, which, if they enriched them on the one hand, could not fail to render them odious on the other [*], and to excite the envy and complaints of other ecclesiastics. Such, among many other extraordinary prerogatives, was the permission

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The eminent services rendered to the Roman pontiffs by the Dominicans and Franciscans.

in 1650. The other writers, who have given accounts of the Franciscan order, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

[*] The popes were so infatuated with the Franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See, for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the *Histor. Major.* of Matthew Paris: ‘*Fratres minores et prædicatores (says he) invitos, ut credimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum læsione et scandalo, telonarios et bedellos,*’ p. 634.—‘*Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus prædicatoribus, et minoribus, etiam invitis, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummularum,*’ p. 639.—‘*Erant Minores et Prædicatores magnatum consiliatores et nuntii, etiam domini papæ secretarii; nimis in hoc gratiam sibi secularem comparantes;*’ ad An. 1236. p. 354.—‘*Facti sunt eo tempore Prædicatores et Minores regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam mollibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus velliebantur in domibus imperii, et palatiis essent principum;*’ ad An. 1239. p. 465.

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they received from the pontiffs, of preaching to the multitude, hearing *confession*, and pronouncing *absolution*, without any license from the bishops, and even without consulting them; to which we may add the treasure of ample and extensive *indulgences*, whose distribution was committed by the popes to the Franciscans, as a mean of subsistence, and a rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty [y]. These acts of liberality and marks of protection, lavished upon the Dominican and Franciscan *friars* with such an ill-judged profusion, as they overturned the ancient discipline of the church, and were a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced the most unhappy and bitter dissensions between the Mendicant orders and the bishops. And these dissensions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited in all the European provinces, and even in the city of *Rome* [z], under the very eye of the pontiffs, the most dreadful disturbances and tumults. The measures taken by the popes to appease these tumults were various, but ineffectual; because their principal view was to support the cause of their faithful servants and creatures, the Mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the possession of their honours and advantages [a].

XXVII. Among

[y] See Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 490. tom. vii. p. 392. — It is well known, that no religious order had the distribution of so many and such ample *indulgences* as the Franciscans. Nor could these good friars live and multiply as they did, without some source of profit, since, by their institution, they were to be destitute of revenues and possessions of every kind. It was therefore in the place of fixed revenues, that such lucrative *indulgences* were put into their hands.

[z] Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 441.

[a] See Jo. Launoii *Explicata Ecclesie Tractatio circa Canonem, Omnis universae ecclesiae, tom. i. part. I. Op. p. 247.* — R. de la Roche, *Collection de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques,*

XXVII. Among all the controversies which were maintained by the Mendicants, whether against the bishops, abbots, schools, or other religious orders, that was the most famous which arose in 1228, between the Dominicans and the university of *Paris*, and was prolonged, with various success, until the year 1259. The Dominicans claimed, as their unquestionable right, two theological classes in that celebrated university: one of these had been taken from them, and an academical law had passed, importing that no religious order should have what the Dominicans demanded. The latter, however, persisted obstinately in reclaiming the professorship they had lost: while the doctors of the university, perceiving the restless and contentious spirit that animated their efforts, excluded them from their society, and formed themselves into a separate body. This measure was considered as a declaration of war; and, accordingly, the most vehement commotions arose between the contending parties. The debate was brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff in the year 1255; and the decision, as might have been expected, was in favour of the monks. Alexander IV. ordered the university of *Paris* not only to restore the Dominicans to their former place in that learned society, but moreover to make a grant to them of as many classes or professorships as they should think proper to demand. This unjust and despotic sentence was opposed by the university with the utmost vigour; and thus the contest was renewed with double fury. But the magistrates of *Paris* were, at length, so terrified

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The dispute
between the
Dominicans
and the uni-
versity of
Paris.

tiques, par M. du Pin, tome i. p. 326.—L'Enfant, Histoire du Concile de Pise, tome i. p. 310. tome ii. p. 8.—Echardi Scriptores Dominicani, tome i. p. 404. The circumstances of these flaming contests are mentioned by all the writers, both of this and the following centuries.

and

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and overwhelmed with the thundering edicts and formidable mandates of the exasperated pontiff, that, in the year 1259, they yielded to superior force, and satisfied the demands not only of the Dominican, but also of the Franciscan order, in obedience to the pope, and to the extent of his commands [*b*]. Hence arose that secret enmity and silent ill-will, which prevailed for long between the university of *Paris* and the Mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, and which are not yet entirely extinguished.

The Dominicans meet with a formidable adversary.

XXVIII. In this famous debate none pleaded the cause of the university with greater spirit, and asserted its rights with greater zeal and activity, than Guillaume de St. Amour, doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have lived in better times, and capable of adorning a more enlightened age. This vigorous and able champion attacked the whole Mendicant tribe in various treatises with the greatest vehemence, and more especially in a book *concerning the perils of the latter times*. He boldly maintained, that their discipline was in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel; and that, in confirming and approving it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the *church was become chargeable with error*. What gave occasion to the remarkable title of this celebrated work, was the author's being entirely persuaded that the prophecy of St. Paul, relating to the *perilous times that were to come in the last days* [*c*], was fulfilled in the establishment

[*b*] See Cœf. Egaff. du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. 138. 240. 248. 266, &c.—Jo. Cordeſii, or (to mention him by the name he assumed) Jo. Alitophili *Pref. Hist. et Apogetica ad Opera Gulielmi de S. Amore*.—Antoine Tournon, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134.—Wadding, *Annal. Minor*. tom. iii. p. 247. 366. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106. 263.—Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major. ad An.* 1228, & *Nangis Chronicon*, apud Dacherii *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 38.

[*c*] 2 *Timothy*, iii. 1.

of the Mendicant friars. This notion St. Amour maintained in the warmest manner, and proved it, principally from the book called the *Everlasting Gospel*, which was publicly explained by the Dominicans and Franciscans, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The fury and resentment of the Mendicants were therefore kindled in a peculiar manner against this formidable adversary, whom they persecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, the pope ordered his book to be publicly burned, and banished its author out of *France*, lest he should excite the Sorbonne to renew their opposition to these spiritual beggars. St. Amour submitted to the papal edict, and retired into his native province of *Franche Comté*; but, under the pontificate of Clement IV. he returned to *Paris*, where he illustrated the tenets of his famous book in a more extensive work, and died esteemed and regretted by all, except the Mendicants [*d*].

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[*d*] The doctors of the university of *Paris* profess still a high respect for the memory of St. Amour, esteem his book, and deny obstinately that he was ever placed in the list of *heretics*. The Dominicans, on the contrary, consider him as a heretic of the first magnitude, if we may use that expression. Such of his works as could be found were published in 4to, in the year 1632, at *Paris*, (though the title bears *Constantia*), by Cordeus, who has prefixed to them a long and learned Preface, in which he defends the reputation and orthodoxy of St. Amour in a triumphant manner. This learned editor, to avoid the resentment and fury of the Mendicants, concealed his real name, and assumed that of Jo. Alitophilus. This did not, however, save his book from the vengeance of these friars, who obtained from Louis XIII. in the year 1633, an edict for its suppression, which Tournon, a Dominican friar, has published in his *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 164.—For a farther account of the life of this famous doctor, see Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 366.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 266.—Nat. Alex. *Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. Art. vii. p. 95.—Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 345.

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The pride
and arro-
gance of
the Mendi-
cants.

XXIX. While the pontiffs accumulated upon the Mendicants the most honourable distinctions, and the most valuable privileges which they had to bestow, they exposed them still more and more to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy; and this hatred was considerably increased by the audacious arrogance that discovered itself every where in the conduct of these supercilious orders. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with ostentation the superior efficacy and virtue of their *indulgences*, and vaunted, beyond measure, their interests at the court of heaven, and their familiar connections with the Supreme Being, the Virgin Mary, and the saints in glory. By these impious wiles, they so deluded and captivated the miserable and blinded multitude, that they would not entrust any others but the Mendicants with the care of their souls, their spiritual and eternal concerns [*c*]. We may give, as a specimen of these notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the Carmelites impose upon the credulous, relating to Simon Stockius, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this ecclesiastic, they tell us, that the Virgin Mary appeared, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of such as left the world with the Carmelite cloak or *scapulary* upon their shoulders, should be infallibly preserved from eternal dam-

[*c*] See Matth. Paris, *ed. A. 12. 6. Hist. Maj.* p. 607. 630, &c.

nation [f]. And here let it be observed to the astonishment of all, in whom the power of superstition has not extinguished the plainest dictates of common sense, that this ridiculous and impious fiction found patrons and defenders even among the pontiffs [g].

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XXX. It is however certain, that the Mendicant orders, though they were considered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal supports of the papal authority, involved the pontiffs, after the death of Dominic and Francis, in many perplexities and troubles, which were no sooner dispelled, than they were unhappily renewed; and thus the church was often reduced to a state of imminent danger. These tumults and perplexities began with the contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans about pre-eminence, in which these *bumble* monks mutually indulged themselves in the bitterest invectives and the severest accusations, both in their writings and their discourse, and opposed each other's interests with all the fury of disappointed ambition. Many schemes were formed, and various measures were employed, for terminating these scandalous dissensions; but the root of the evil still remained, and the flame was rather covered than extinguished [h]. Besides this, the Franciscans were early divided among themselves, and split into several factions, which gathered strength and consistence from day to day,

Contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans.

[f] See Jo. Launoi *Lib. de Viso Stockii*, oper. tom. li. part II. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Mensis Maii ad diem xvi.*—Theoph. Rainaudi *Scapulare Marianum*, tom. vii. op. p. 614.

[g] Benedict XIV. notwithstanding his pretended freedom from superstition and priestly fraud, deigned to appear among the supporters of this gross fiction, though he defended it with his usual air of prudence and timidity, in his book *De Fests B.* vi. p. 472. tom. x. op. edit. Rom. *Cordeliers*, tome i. p. 256. 266. 278. *et alios* tom. iii. p. 380.

and

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and not only disturbed the tranquillity of the church, but struck at the supreme jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs. And whoever considers with attention the series of events that happened in the Latin church from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the Mendicant orders (whether through imprudence or design we shall not determine) gave several mortal blows to the authority of the church of *Rome*, and excited in the minds of the people those ardent desires of a reformation in the church, which produced, in after-times, such substantial and such glorious effects.

Intestine divisions among the Franciscans, occasioned by different explanations of their rule.

XXXI. The occasion of these intestine divisions among the Franciscans, was a dispute about the precise meaning of their rule. Their founder and chief had made absolute poverty one of their indispensable obligations. The religious orders before his time were so constituted, that, though no single monk had any personal property, yet the whole community, considered as one collective body, had possessions and revenues, from which every member drew the means of his subsistence. But the austere chief of the Franciscans absolutely prohibited both separate and collective property to the monks of his order; and neither the individual nor the community were permitted to possess either fund, revenue, or any worldly goods [i]. This injunction appeared so severe to several of the friars minors, that they took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their founder was dead; and in this they were seconded by pope Gregory IX. who, in the year

[i] The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as follow: C. vi. "Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem; sed, sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro elemosynâ confidenter. . . (i. e. let them be sturdy beggars). . . Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cælorum instituit."

1231, published an interpretation of this rule, which considerably mitigated its excessive rigour [k]. But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to all the Franciscans; it shocked the austere monks of that order, those particularly who were called the *Spirituals* [l], whose melancholy temper rendered them fond of every thing harsh and gloomy, and whose fanatical spirit hurried them always into extremes. Hence arose a warm debate, which Innocent IV. decided, in the year 1245, in favour of those who were inclined to mitigate the severity of the rule in question. By this decree of the pontiff it was enacted, that the Franciscan friars should be permitted to possess certain places, habitations, chattels, books, &c. and to make use of them, but that the property of all these things should reside in St. Peter or the Roman church; so that without the consent of the Roman pontiff they might neither be sold, changed, nor transferred, under any pretext whatsoever. This edict was considered by the gloomy part of the order as a most pernicious depravation of their holy rule; and was, consequently, opposed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of these *spiritual* mal-contents retired into the woods and deserts, while others were apprehended by Crescentius, the general of the society, and sent into exile [m].

XXXII. A change, however, arose in their favour, when, in the year 1247, John of *Parma* was chosen

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[k] The bull was published by Emmanuel Roderic, in his *Collectio Privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium, et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

[l] Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99. they were also called *Zelatores*, and *Cæsariens* from their chief Cæsarius.

[m] Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. and tom. iii. p. 171.

general

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general of the order. This famous ecclesiastic, who was zealously attached to the sentiments of the *spiritual* members, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a strict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. Francis [n]. By this reform, he brought back the order to its primitive state; and the only reward he obtained, for his zealous labours, was to be accused as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of pope Alexander IV. in consequence of which he was obliged to resign his post. He had also the mortification to see the monks who adhered to his sentiments thrown into prison, which unhappy lot he himself escaped with great difficulty [o]. His successor, the famous Bonaventura, who was one of the most eminent scholastic divines of this century, proposed steering a middle course between the contending factions, having nothing so much at heart as to prevent an open schism. Nevertheless, the measures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a spirit of union in the order, were not attended with the degree of success which he expected from them; nor were they sufficient to hinder the less austere part of the Franciscans from soliciting and obtaining, in the year 1257, from Alexander IV. a solemn renewal of the mild interpretation which Innocent IV. had given of the rule of their founder [p]. On the other hand, those who adhered to the sentiments of John of *Parma* maintained their cause with such success, that, in an assembly of the order holden in the year 1260, the explication of Innocent was abrogated and annulled, especially in those points wherein it

[n] Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 171.

[o] Wadding, tom. iv p. 4.

[p] This edict of Alexander IV. is published by Wadding, *Annal. Min.* tom. iv. p. 446. among the *Records*.

differed

differed from that which had been formerly given by Gregory IX. [g].

XXXIII. This dispute concerning the true sense of the rule of St. Francis was followed by another of equal moment, which produced new and unhappy divisions among the monks of that order. About the commencement of this century, there were handed about in *Italy* several pretended prophecies of the famous Joachim, abbot of *Sora* in *Calabria* [r] whom the multitude revered as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times. The greatest part of these predictions were contained in a work entitled *The Everlasting Gospel*, which was also usually called *The Book of Joachim* [s]. This Joachim (whether a real

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Another
contest
arises among
the Francis-
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Gospel of
the abbot
Joachim.

[g] The interpretation of Gregory mitigated the rule of St. Francis; but that of Innocent went much farther, and seemed to destroy its fundamental principles. See Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. The lamentable divisions that reigned among the monks of this famous order, are described, in an accurate and lively manner, by Bonaventura himself, in a letter, which is extant in the work now cited, tom. iv. p. 58.

[r] The resemblance between the words *Sora* and *Flora*, has probably led Dr. Mosheim here into a slight mistake. *Sora* is not in *Calabria*, but in the province of *Capua*. It must therefore have been *Flora*, that our author intended to write, as Spanheim, Fleury, and other ecclesiastical historians, have done.

[s] The Merlin of the English, the Malachi of the Irish, and Nostradamus of the French, those pretended soothsayers, who, under the illusory or feigned persuasion of a divine impulse, sang in uncouth verse the future revolutions of church and state, are just what we may suppose the Joachim of the Italians to have been. Many predictions of this latter were formerly handed about, and are still to be seen; they have passed through various editions, and have been illustrated by the lucubrations of several commentators. It is not to be doubted, that Joachim was the author of some predictions, and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might easily see the absolute necessity. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the predictions and

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a real or fictitious person we shall not pretend to determine), among many other future events, foretold the destruction of the church of *Rome*, whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity, and the promulgation of a new and *more perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost*, by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to raise up and employ for that purpose. For he divided the world into *three ages*, with reference to the three dispensations of religion. The two *imperfect ages*,—namely, the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, which was under the administration of the *Son*,—had, according to the predictions of this fanatic, already expired, and the third age, that of the *Holy Ghost*, had commenced. The *Spiritual*, i. e. the austere Franciscans, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but wrong-headed enthusiasts, not only swallowed down, with the most voracious and implicit credulity, the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to Joachim, but applied those predictions to themselves, and to the rule of discipline established by their holy founder St. Francis [†]; for they maintained, that he

writings, which were formerly attributed to him, were composed by others; and this we may affirm even of the *Everlasting Gospel*, the work undoubtedly of some obscure, silly, and visionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of Joachim, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this senseless production is taken from *Revelations* xiv. 6. and it contained three books; the first was entitled, *Liber Concordiæ Veritatis*, i. e. *the Book of the Harmony of Truth*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*, or *the New Revelation*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*, i. e. *the Ten-stringed Harp*. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by Jac. Echard, who has published it in his *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.

[†] This is acknowledged even by Wadding, notwithstanding his partiality in favour of the *spiritual* or austere Franciscans. See his *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 3—6.

delivered to mankind the *true gospel*, and that he was the angel whom St. John saw flying in the midst of heaven [u].

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XXXIV. When the intestine divisions among the Franciscans were at the greatest height, one of the *Spiritual* friars, whose name was Gerard, undertook the explication of the *Everlasting Gospel* ascribed to Joachim, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel* [w].

Gerard's
book con-
demned.

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[u] *Revel. xiv. 6. And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the Everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, &c.*—See on this subject Balazii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246.—Echardi *Scriptor. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.—*Codex Inquisit. Tolosana* a Limborchio edit. p. 301.

[w] As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here some observations that may correct their mistakes. 1. They almost all confound the *Everlasting Gospel*, or the *Gospel of the Holy Ghost*, (for so it is also called, as we are told by Guil. de St. Amour, in his book *de Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38.) with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*. But these two productions must be carefully distinguished from each other. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot Joachim, and it consisted of three books, as has been already observed. But the *Introduction* to this Gospel was the work of a certain Franciscan monk, who explained the obscure predictions of the pretended Gospel, and applied them to his order. The *Everlasting Gospel* was neither complained of by the university of Paris, nor condemned by the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. but the *Introduction* was complained of, condemned, and burned, as appears evidently from the letters of the above-mentioned pontiff, which are to be seen in Boulay's *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The former consisted, as productions of that nature generally do, of ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was consequently despised or neglected; but the latter was dangerous in many respects. 2. It is farther to be observed, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this *Introduction*. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. Francis maintain, that the author was a Franciscan. The greatest part of the writers, are of opinion, that the author of the *in-*

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In this book, the fanatical monk, among other enormities, as insipid as impious, inculcated the following

mous work in question was John of *Parma*, general of the Franciscans, who is known to have been most warmly attached to the *spiritual* faction of that order, and to have maintained the sentiments of the abbot Joachim with an excessive zeal. See Wadding, (*Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9.) who endeavours to defend him against this accusation, though without success. (See also the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. *Martii*, p. 157. for John of *Parma*, though he preferred the *Gospel* of St. Francis to that of Christ, has, nevertheless, obtained a place among the saints.) The learned Echard is of a different opinion, and has proved, in his *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 202), from the curious manuscripts yet preserved in the Sorbonne, relating to the *Everlasting Gospel*, that Gerard, a Franciscan friar, was the author of the infamous *Introduction* to that book. This Gerard, indeed, was the intimate friend and companion to John of *Parma*, and not only maintained, with the greatest obitancy, the cause of the *spirituals*, but also embraced all the sentiments that were attributed to the abbot Joachim, with such an ardent zeal, that he chose to remain eighteen years in prison, rather than to abandon them. 'See Wadding, tom. iv. p. 4. 7. Those Franciscans who were called *observantes*, i. e. *vigilant*, from their professing a more rigid observance of the rule of their founder than was practised by the rest of their order, place Gerard among the saints of the first rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but also with the power of working miracles. See Wadding, tom. iii. p. 213. It is to be observed, 3dly, That whoever may have been the writer of this detestable book, the whole mendicant order, in the judgment of the greatest part of the historians of this age, shared the guilt of its composition and publication, more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, who are supposed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their sanctity, in order to establish their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill-founded, notwithstanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The Franciscans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears most evidently from the fragments of the book itself, which yet remain: but we are obliged in justice to observe farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the Franciscans, but only on the *spiritual* faction. Perhaps we might go still farther, and allege, that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to such alone

following detestable doctrine; "That St. Francis, who was the angel mentioned in the Revelations, xiv. 6. had promulgated to the world the true and everlasting gospel of God; that the gospel of Christ was to be abrogated in the year 1260, and to give place to this new and everlasting gospel, which was to be substituted in its room; and that the ministers of this great reformation were to be humble and bare-footed friars, destitute of all worldly emoluments [x]." When this strange book was published at *Paris* in the year 1254, it excited in the doctors of the church, and indeed in all good men, the most lively feelings of horror and indignation against the mendicant friars, who had al-

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alone as placed an idle and enthusiastic confidence in Joachim, and gave credit to all his pretended prophecies. These observations are necessary to the true understanding of what has been said concerning the *Everlasting Gospel* by the following learned men: Jo. Andr. Schmidius, *Dissertat. Helmst.* 1700, in 4to.—Usserius, *De successione Ecclesiar. Occident.* c. ix. sect. 20. p. 337.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292.—Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc.* xiii. Artic. iv. p. 78.—Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9.—Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the mendicant orders in general, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of a small number of Franciscans.

[x] See Guil. de St. Amour *de Periculis noviss. Temp.* p. 38, who observes that the book under consideration was not indeed published before the year 1254, but that the opinions contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large extracts from this infamous book: see Herm. Corneri *Chronicon*, in Eccardi *Corpor. Hist. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850.—*Chronicon Egmundunum*, in Ant. Matthæi *Analektis veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 517.—Ricobaldus apud Eccardum, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 1215.—But between these extracts there is a great difference, which seems to have arisen from this, that some drew their citations from the *Everlasting Gospel* of Joachim, while others drew theirs from the *Introduction* of Gerard, not sufficiently distinguishing one work from the other.

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ready by other parts of their conduct, incurred the displeasure of the public. This general ferment engaged pope Alexander IV. though much against his will, to order the suppression of this absurd book in the year 1255; he, however, took care to have this order executed with the greatest possible mildness, lest it should hurt the reputation of the mendicants, and open the eyes of the superstitious multitude. But the doctors of the university of *Paris*, not being satisfied with these gentle and timorous proceedings, repeated without interruption their accusations and complaints, until the extravagant and obnoxious production was publicly committed to the flames [y].

The famous constitution of Nicolas III. relating to the rule of St. Francis.

XXXV. The intestine flame of discord, that had raged among the Franciscans, and was smothered, though not extinguished, by the prudent management of Bonaventura, broke out anew with redoubled fury after the death of that pacific doctor. Those Franciscan monks who were fond of opulence and ease, renewed their complaints against the rule of their founder, as unreasonable and unjust, demanding what it was absolutely beyond the power of man to perform. Their complaints, however, were without effect; and their schemes were disconcerted by pope Nicolas III. who leaned to the side of the austere Franciscans, and who, in the year 1279, published that famous *constitution* which confirmed the rule of St. Francis, and contained an accurate and elaborate explication of the maxims it recommended, and the duties it prescribed [z].

[y] See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 299.—*Jordan's Chronicle*, in *Muratorii Antiq. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 998.

[z] Some affirm, that this famous *Constitution* was issued by Nicolas IV.; but their opinion is refuted by Wadding, in his *Annal. Min.* tom. v. p. 73.

By this edict, the pontiff renewed that part of the rule, which prohibited all kinds of property among the Franciscans, every thing that bore the least resemblance to a legal possession, or a fixed domain; but he granted to them, at the same time, the use of things necessary, such as houses, books, and other conveniences of that nature, the property of which, in conformity with the appointment of Innocent IV., was to reside in the church of Rome. Nor did the provident pontiff stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes, and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself and his successors alone [a].

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XXXVI. However disposed Nicolas was to satisfy the *spiritual* and austere part of the Franciscan order, which had now become numerous both in *Italy* and *France*, and particularly in the province of *Narbonne*, the *constitution* above-mentioned was far from producing that effect. The monks of that gloomy faction, who resided in *Italy*, received the papal edict with a sullen and discontented silence. Their brethren in *France*, and more especially in the southern parts of that kingdom, where the inhabitants are of a warm and sanguine complexion, testified, in an open and tumultuous manner, the disapprobation of this new *constitution*; and having at their head a famous Franciscan, whose name was Pierre Jean d'Olive, they excited new dissensions and troubles in the order [b]. Pierre was a native of

Excites
new troubles
and exasperates the
rituals.

[a] This constitution is yet extant in the *Jus Canon. Lib. vi. Decretal. Tit. xii. c. iii. p. 1028*, edit. *Bôhm.* and is vulgarly called the *Constitution Exiit*, from its beginning with that word.

[b] In some ancient records, this ring-leader is called *Petrus Biterrensis*, i. e. *Peter of Beziers*, because he resided for a long time

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... it to be
... truths
... delivered.
... never lost
... of the
... with extra-
... work entitled,
... affirm-
... represented by
... whom
... *bayl*,
... *heads*, and
... be observed,
... church, was
... in several
... part of
... the *Spirituals* pre-
... abbot Joachim;
... and extravagant
... whom he considered
... of *Christ* [d].
... the sense of the
... he seemed to adhere
... the attending parties; for he
... the *sure sign of the neces-*
... being called upon, at different
... of his superiors, to de-
... upon this head, he professed

was in the convent of *B. shers*, where he performed the functions
of a public teacher. By others, he is named *Petrus de Serig-*
... the place of his nativity. This remark is so much
the more necessary, as some authors have taken these three
denominations for three distinct persons.

[c] *Revelation* xvii. 3. 5.

[d] *Votum Christo configuratum*. See the *Littera Magistro-*
... de *Pondra Fratr*is *P. Joh. Olivi*, in *Baluzii Miscellan-*
tom. i. p. 213.—Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 52.

his

his assent to the interpretation that had been given of the rule in question by Nicolas III. He leaned, nevertheless, to the side of those austere and *spiritual* Franciscans, who not only opposed the introduction of property among the individuals of the order, but also maintained, that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. Great was his zeal for these gloomy Franciscans, and he defended their cause with warmth [*e*]; hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontiffs, in favour of the *renunciation of property*, in consequence of the institution of St. Francis [*f*].

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XXXVII. The credit and authority of Pierre d'Olive, whom the multitude considered, not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the *spirituals*, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these violent efforts, and so over-ruled the impetuous

Continuation of these debates.

[*e*] The real sentiments of Pierre d'Olive will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. and in Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

[*f*] For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as Raynaldus, Alexander, and Oudinus, but also the following: Baluzii *Miscel.* tom. i. p. 213. and in *Vitis Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 752. Car. Plessis d'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Ecclesiæ Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226.—Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535.—Schelhornii *Amanitates Literariae*, tom. ix. p. 678. *Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par les Moines Benedicins*, tome iv. p. 91. 179. 182. The bones of Pierre d'Olive were taken up by the order of pope John XXII. and burned publicly with his writings, in the year 1325.

motions

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motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of Matthew of *Aqua Sparta*, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face of affairs. This new chief suffered the ancient discipline of the Franciscans to dwindle away to nothing, indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon himself not only the indignation and rage of the austere part of the *spiritual* Franciscans, but also the disapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence arose various tumults and seditions, first in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and afterwards in *France*, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but, finding all these means ineffectual, he resigned his place in the year 1289 [g]. His successor Raymond Goffredi employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those who had been thrown into prison, and put out of the way several of the austere Franciscans, who had been the principal encouragers of these unhappy divisions, by sending them into *Armenia* in the character of missionaries. But the disorder was too far gone to be easily remedied. The more moderate Franciscans, who had a relish for the sweets of property and opulence, accused the new general of a partial attachment to the *Spirituals*, whom he treated with peculiar affection and respect, and therefore employed their whole credit to procure his dismissal from office, which, with much difficulty, they at length effected, under the pontificate of Boniface VIII. On the other hand, the more

[g] Wadding, *Annales Min.* tom. v. p. 210. 235

rigid part of the *spiritual* faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and, forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which Nicolas III. had given of the rule of St. Francis. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing but seditions and schisms in an order, that had been so famous for its pretended disinterestedness and humility [b].

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XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian Franciscans, of the *spiritual* party, addressed themselves to Celestin V. for permission to form a separate order, in which they might not only profess, but also observe, in the strictest manner, that austere rule of absolute poverty, which St. Francis had prescribed to his followers. The good pontiff, who, before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a solitary and austere life [i], and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and self-denial, granted with the utmost facility the request of these friars, and placed, at the head of the new order, a monk, whose name was Liberatus, and who was one of the greatest *self-tormentors*.

[b] Idem opus, tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. and more especially p. 235, 236.

[i] This pope, whose name was Peter Meuron, had retired very young to a solitary mountain, in order to devote himself entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his piety brought many to see him from a principle of curiosity, several of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his solitude. With these he formed a kind of community, in the year 1254, which was approved by Urban IV. in 1264, and erected into a distinct order, called the *Hermits of St. Damien*. Upon Meuron's elevation to the pontificate, and his assuming the name of Celestin V. his order, which must not be confounded with the new *Franciscan Celestin Hermits*, took the title of *Celestins*.

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tors of all the monastic tribe [k]. Soon after this, Celestin, finding himself unfit for the duties of his high and important office, resigned the pontificate, in which he was succeeded by Boniface VIII. who annulled every act that had been passed during the short reign of his predecessor and suppressed, among other institutions, the new order, which had assumed the title of the *Celestin Hermits of St. Francis* [l]. This disgrace was, as it were, the signal which drew upon them the most furious attacks of their enemies. The worldly-minded Franciscans persecuted them with the most unrelenting bitterness, accused them of various crimes, and even cast upon them the odious reproach of Manicheism. Hence many of these unhappy fanatics retired into *Achaia*, whence they passed into a small island, where they imagined themselves secure from the rage of their adversaries, and at liberty to indulge themselves in all the austerities of that miserable life, which they looked upon as the perfection of holiness here below. But no retreat was sufficient to screen them from the vigilance and fury of their cruel persecutors, who left no means unemployed to perpetuate their miseries. In the mean time, the branch of the *spiritual* Franciscans that remained in *Italy*, continued to observe the rigorous laws of their primitive institution in spite of Boniface VIII. who used his utmost efforts to conquer their obstinacy. They erected societies of their order, first in the kingdom of *Naples*, afterwards in the *Milanese*, and in the marquisate of *Ancona*; and, at length spreading themselves through the greatest part of *Europe*, they continued in the most violent state of war

[k] Wadding, *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 338.

[l] Wadding, tom. vi. p. 1. *Bullarium Magnum*, Contin. III. IV. p. 108.

with

with the church of *Rome*, until the Reformation changed the face of things. In these conflicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as miserable victims to the infernal fury of the *Inquisition* [*m*].

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[*m*] The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the Franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the ecclesiastical history of what is called the *Middle Age*, has not hitherto been accurately illustrated by any writer, though it be, every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and ignorance, and against that spiritual tyranny of which they were the principal supports. And it may be observed, that these rebellious Franciscans, though fanatical and superstitious in several respects, deserve an eminent rank among those who prepared the way for the Reformation in *Europe*, and who excited, in the minds of the people, a just aversion to the church of *Rome*. Raynaldus, Bzovius, Spondanus, in their Annals, Eymericus, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, and Natalis Alexander, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, relate the revolutions that happened in the Franciscan order, and in the church in general during this period: but their accounts are neither so accurate, nor so ample, as the importance of the events deserved. And as it is from these authors that the protestant historians have drawn their materials, we need not be surprised at the defects with which the latter abound. Wadding, who merits high encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under consideration. His attachment to one party, and his fear of the others, subject him to restraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He shades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontiffs. He saw, on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which these rigid Franciscans had involved the church of *Rome*, and the strokes which they had aimed, with no small success,

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The Fratricelli and Beghards.

XXXIX. Towards the conclusion of this century arose in *Italy* the enthusiastic sect of the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, which, in *Germany* and *France*, received the denomination of *Beghards*. They were condemned by Boniface VIII. [n], and by several of his successors; and the *inquisitors* were charged by these despotic pontiffs to persecute them until they were extirpated, which commission they executed with their usual barbarity. The *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brethren*, were Franciscan monks, who separated themselves from the grand community of St. Francis, with an intention of obeying the laws of their parent and founder in a more strict and rigorous manner than they were observed by the other Franciscans, and who, accordingly, renounced every kind of possession and property both common and personal, and begged from door to door their

at the majesty of the pontiffs: but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could not follow any one of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not, however, been destitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the *Diplomas* of the pontiffs and emperors, the *Acts of the Inquisition*, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from which I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.

[n] See Trithemius, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. though this author is defective in several respects, and more especially in his accounts of the origin and sentiments of the *Fratricelli*. It is also to be observed, that he confounds, through the whole of his history, the sects and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskilful manner. See rather Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict published in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. against the *Bizochi* or *Beghards*, is inserted; as also Jordani *Chronicon*, in Muratorii *Antiq. Italia*, tom. iv. p. 1020.

daily

daily subsistence [o]. They alleged that neither Christ nor his apostles had any possessions, either *personal* or in *common*; and that *they* were the models, whom St. Francis commanded his followers to imitate. After the example also of their austere founder, they went about clothed with fordid garments, or rather with loathsome rags, declaimed against the corruption of the church of *Rome*, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops, foretold the reformation of the church and the restoration of the true gospel of Christ by the genuine followers of St. Francis, and declared their assent to almost all the doctrines, which were published under the name of the abbot Joachim. They esteemed and respected Celestin V. because, as has been already observed, he was, in some measure, the founder of their society, by permitting them to erect themselves into a separate order. But they refused to acknowledge, as true and lawful heads of the church, his successor Boniface and the

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[o] The *Fratricelli* resembled the *Spirituals* in many of their maxims and observances: they, however, were a distinct body, and differed from them in various respects. The *Spirituals*, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the Franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the *Fratricelli*, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciscans, and, withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The *Spirituals* did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere *use* of them; whereas the *Fratricelli* rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want which St. Francis had prescribed in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. We omit the mention of less important differences.

subsequent

subsequent pontiffs, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, and persecuted their order [p].

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[p] The accounts of the *Fratricelli*, that are given by ancient and modern writers, even by those who pretend to the greatest exactness, are extremely confused and uncertain. Triethemius, in his *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. affirms, that they derived their origin from Tanchelinus, and thus ignorantly confounds them with the *Catharists* and other sects that arose in those times. The Franciscans leave no means unemployed to clear themselves from all relation to this society, and to demonstrate that such a pestilential and impious sect, as that of the *Fratricelli*, did not derive their origin from the order of St. Francis. In consequence of this, they deny that the *Fratricelli* professed the Franciscan rule; and maintain, on the contrary, that the society which was distinguished by this title was a heap of rabble, composed of persons of all kinds and all religions, whom Herman Pongilup, towards the conclusion of this century, assembled at *Ferrara* in *Italy*, and erected into a distinct order. See Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 279. This author employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous reproach of having given rise to that of the *Fratricelli*; but his efforts are vain; for he acknowledges, and even proves by unquestionable authorities, that this hated sect professed and observed, in the most rigorous manner, the rule of St. Francis; and nevertheless, he denies that they were Franciscans; by which he means, and indeed can only mean, that they were not such Franciscans as those who lived in subjection to the general of the order, and adopted the interpretation which the pontiffs had given of the rule of their founder. All Wadding's boasted demonstration, therefore, comes to no more than this, that the *Fratricelli* were Franciscans who separated themselves from the grand order of St. Francis, and rejected the authority of the general of that order, and the laws and interpretations, together with the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs; and this no mortal ever took it into his head to deny. Hermannus, or, as he is called by many, Armannus Pongilup, whom Wadding and others consider as the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived in this century at *Ferrara*, in the highest reputation on account of his extraordinary piety; and when he died, in the year 1269, he was interred with the greatest pomp and magnificence in the principal church of that city. His memory was, for a long time, honoured with a degree of veneration equal to that which is paid to the most illustrious saints; and it was supposed that the Supreme Being bore testimony to his eminent sanctity by various miracles. But, as Pongilup

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for its companions and associates, a set of men,
who

Pongilup had been suspected of heresy by the *Inquisitors of heretical depravity*, on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled that of the *Catharists*, they made, even after his death, such an exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that, many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that, in the year 1300, his tomb was destroyed; his bones were dug up, and burned by the order of Boniface VIII., and the multitude effectually cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory. The *judicial act* of this remarkable event are recorded by Muratori, in his *Antiquit. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. and it appears evidently from them, that those learned men, who consider Pongilup as the founder of the order of the *Fratricelli*, have fallen into a gross error. So far was he from being the founder of this sect, that he was dead before it was in existence. The truth is, that this famous enthusiast was a *Catharist*, infected with *Paulician* or *Manichean* principles, and that he was a member of the sect entitled *Bagnolists*, from a town of that name in *Provence*, where they resided. Some modern writers, indeed, have seen so far into the truth, as to perceive that the *Fratricelli* were a separate branch of the rigid and austere Franciscans; but they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the *Beguards* or *Beguins*, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by Limborch, (in his *Hist. Inquist.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69.) who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration; by Baluze, in his *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. & *Vit. Pontif. Avenicensis.* tom. i. p. 509. by Beausobre, in his *Dissertation concerning the Adamites*, subjoined to the *History of the wars of the Hussites*, p. 380. and by Wadding, in his *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 376. But notwithstanding the authorities of these learned men, it is certain; as we shall shew in its place, that there was a real difference between the *Fratricelli* and the *Beghards*, not indeed with respect to their opinions, but in their rule of discipline and their manner of life.

The principal cause of the errors that have obscured the *History of the Fratricelli*, is the ambiguity in the denomination of their order. *Fratricellus* or *Fraterculus* (*Little Brother*) was an Italian nick-name, or term of derision, that was applied in this century to all those who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkish air in their clothing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and

*Tertiaries,
Bocafoti,
and Be-
guins.*

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who observed the third rule that was prescribed by St. Francis, and were therefore commonly called

assumed a sanctimonious aspect of piety and devotion. See Villani, *Istorie Florentine*, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423.—Imola is Dantem, p. 1121. in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened that this general term of *Fratricelli* was applied to them all, though they differed considerably from one another in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the *Catharists*, the *Waldenses*, the *Apostles*, and many other sects who had invented new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude: while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their enquiries after the sect of the *Fratricelli*, (who had given so much trouble to the Roman pontiffs,) were even led into the grossest mistakes, and imagined, at one time, that this order was that of the *Catharists*, at another, that it was the sect of the *Waldenses*, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered that the word *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, bore a quite different sense from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the Franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a nick-name, or a term of derision when applied to them, it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely to all other titles. The import of *Fratricelli* corresponds with *Friars-minors*; and every one knows, that the latter appellation was adopted by the Franciscans, as an expression of their extraordinary humility and modesty. In assuming this title, therefore, these monks did not, properly speaking, assume a new name, but only translated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called *Fratres Minores*, i. e. *Friars-minors*, the Italians called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs we might draw from the best authors in favour of this account of the matter, we shall only allege one, from the *Life of Thom. Aquinas*, by Guilielmus de Thoco in *Adis Sanctor. Martii*, tom. i. cap. ii. sect. xxi. “*Destruxit* (says that biographer) *et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem S. Thomas . . . cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant fraterculos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant . . . contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes papa XXII. mirandam edidit decretalem.*”

Now this very *Decretal* of John XXII. against the *Fratricelli*, which Thoco calls the *Admirable*, is, to mention no other testimony,

called Tertiaries [q]; so likewise the order of the Fratricelli, who were desirous of being considered

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as

monies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this act (which is to be seen in the *Extravagantia Job. XXII. Corp. Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. Böhmer, the pontiff expresses himself thus: “Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguini, nuncupantur in partibus Italiæ, in insula Siciliæ --- publice mendicare solent” He afterwards divides the *Fratricelli* into *monks* and *Tertiaries*, or (which amounts to the same thing, as we shall shew in its place) into *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*. With respect to the *Fratricelli*, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: “Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum --- se profiteri ad literam conservare conflagunt, præcedentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cœlestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen etsi offenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius papa octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cœlestino concessa --- viribus penitus evacuaverit.” Here he describes clearly those *Fratricelli*, who, separating themselves from the Franciscans with a view to observe more strictly the rule of St. Francis, were erected into a distinct order by Celestin V. And in the following passage he characterises, with the same perspicuity, the *Bizochi* and *Beguins*, who intitled themselves of the *third order of the penitents of St. Francis*: “Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.”

[q] Besides two very austere rules drawn up by St. Francis, the one for the *Friars-minors*, and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarisses*, from St. Clara their founder; this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were disposed to enter with certain restrictions into the Franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the Franciscan historians have given accounts of this third rule, more especially Wadding, *Annal. Min.* tom. ii. p. 7.—Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. They who professed this third rule, were called *Friars of the Penance of Christ*, and sometimes also, on account of the meanness of their garments, *Brethren of the Sack*; but they were more generally known by the denomination of *Tertiaries*. The greatest

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as the only genuine followers of St. Francis, had a great number of *Tertiaries*, attached to their cause. These *Tertiaries*, or half-monks, were called, in *Italy*, *Bizochi* and *Bocafoti*; in *France*, *Beguins*; and in *Germany*, *Begwards*, or *Beghards*, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places [r].

They

part of the religious orders of the church of *Rome* imitated this institution of St. Francis, as soon as they perceived the various advantages that were deducible from it. And hence, at this day, these orders continue to have their *Tertiaries*.

[r] The *Tertiaries* that were connected with the order of the *Fratricelli*, arose about the year 1296, in the marquise of *Ancona* and the neighbouring countries, and were called *Bizochi*, as we learn from the edict, issued against them, in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. and published by Du Boulay, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. They are mentioned under the same title by John XXII. in the bull already cited. Add, to all these authorities, that of the learned Du Fresne, who, in his *Glossar. Latinit. medie*, tom. i. p. 1188. observes, that this denomination is derived from *Bizochus*, which signifies in French *une Bourse*, i. e. a *sack* or *wallet*, such as beggars in general, and these holy beggars in particular, were accustomed to carry about with them. The term *Bocafotus*, (or *Vocufotus*, as Du Boulay writes it, tom. iii. p. 610.) has no doubt the same origin, and bears the same signification. It is used by Jordan, in his *Chronicle*, from which we shall cite a remarkable passage in the following note. The denominations of *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that were given to the *Tertiaries* in *France* and in *Italy*, are very frequently to be met with in the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages. The accounts, however, which both ancient and modern writers generally give of these famous names, are so uncertain, and so different from each other, that we need not be surprised to find the history of the *Beghards* and *Beguins* involved in greater perplexity and darkness, than any other part of the ecclesiastical annals of the period now mentioned. It is therefore my present object to remove this perplexity, and dispel this darkness as far as that can be done in the short space to which I am confined, and to disclose the true origin of these denominations.

The words *Beghara* or *Beggehard*, *Begutta*, *Begliaur*, and *Beghina*, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the same sense. The German and Belgic nations wrote *Beghard* and *Begutte*, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted the Latin termination for the German, and changed

They differed from the *Fratricelli*, not in their opinions and doctrines, but only in their manner of

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changed *Beghard* into *Beghinus* and *Beghina*; so that those who in *Holland* and *Germany* were called *Beghard* and *Begutte*, were denominated in *France*, *Beghini* and *Beghine*. Even in *Germany* and *Holland*, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead of the German, particularly in the feminine term *Begutta*, of which change we might allege several probable reasons, were this the proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more so to refute. Besides, I have done this in a large work now almost finished, concerning the *Beghards*, wherein I have traced out, with the utmost pains and labour, (from records, the greatest part of which have never seen the light,) the history of all the sects to whom these names have been given, and have, at the same time, detected the errors into which many learned men have fallen, in treating this part of the history of the church. At present, therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures, I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived from the old German word *beggen* or *beggeren*, which signifies to seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness. In joining to this word the syllable *bard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *Beggehard*, which is applicable to a person who asks any thing with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *Beghard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived. *Begutta* signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into *Germany*, the word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly, we find, in the Gothic translation of the Four Gospels attributed to Ulphilas, the word *beggen* employed to express the duty of earnest and fervent prayer. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervour of his devotional services, he was called a *Beghard*, i. e. a devout man; and the denomination of *Begutta* was given, in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, thus assumed a more striking air of external devotion than the rest of their fellow-Christians, all those who were ambitious of

of living. The Fratricelli were real monks, sub-
jected to the rule of St. Francis; while the
Bizochi,

appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours,
were called *Beghards*, or *Begutte*.

The observations we have hitherto made with respect to the origin and signification of the words in question, will serve as a clue to rescue the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the subject has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of *Beghards* and *Beguins* that sprang up in *Europe* in the thirteenth century, and will shew him how it happened, that these denominations were given to above thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, discipline, and manner of living. The original signification of the word *Beghard*, (or *Beggert*, as it was pronounced by the common people,) was *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when the people saw certain persons, not only embracing with resignation, but also with the most voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of absolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly possessions and occupations, they called all such persons *Beghards*, or, if they were women, *Beguttes*, without considering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were distinguished. The sect called *Apostles*, the rigid Franciscans, the *brethren of the free spirit* (of whom we shall speak hereafter), all embraced this forced state of beggary, and though among these orders there was not only a wide difference, but even the greatest opposition, the Germans called them indiscriminately *Beghards*, from the miserable state which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character which they possessed in common was striking, while the sentiments and maxims that divided them escaped the observation of the multitude.

But the word *Beghard* acquired a second, and a new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who prayed with uncommon frequency, and who distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word *Methodist*, which is at present the denomination of a certain sect of fanatics in Great-Britain. Such, therefore, as departed from the manner of living that was usual among their fellow-citizens, and distinguished themselves by the gravity of their aspect and the austerity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of *Beghards* and *Beguttes* in *Germany*, and of *Beguins* and *Beguines* in *France*. These terms,

Bizochi, or *Beguins*, if we except their sordid habit, and certain observances and maxims, which they followed in consequence of the injunctions of the famous saint above-mentioned, lived after the manner of other men, and were therefore considered

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terms, as we could shew by many examples, comprehended at first even the monks and nuns; but, in process of time, they were confined to those who formed a sort of intermediate order between the monks and citizens, and who resembled the former in the manner of living, without assuming their name or contracting their obligations. The *Tertiaries*, therefore, or half-monks of the Dominican, Franciscan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called *Beghards*; for though, as *lay-citizens*, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The fraternity of weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the followers of Gerard the Great, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called *Beghards*, although they procured the necessaries of life by house industry, without having recourse to the sordid trade of begging.

The denominations, therefore, of *Beghards*, *Beguites*, *Beguins*, and *Beguines*, are rather honourable than otherwise, when we consider their origin; and they are mentioned as such, in several records and deeds of this century, whose authority is most respectable, particularly in the Testament of St. Louis, king of France. But, in the sequel, these terms lost gradually, as the case often happens, their primitive signification, and became marks of infamy and derision. For, among these religious *beggars* and these sanctimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety, there were many, whose piety was nothing more than the most senseless superstition; many, also, whose austere devotion was accompanied with opinions of a corrupt nature, entirely opposite to the doctrine of the church; and (what was still more horrible) many artful hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, concealed the most abominable principles, and committed the most enormous crimes. These were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of *Beghards* into disrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous; so that it was only employed to signify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of *Lollards*, of which sect we shall soon have occasion to speak, met with the same fate, and was rendered contemptible by the persons who masked their iniquity under that specious title.

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A great difference between the Franciscan Beguins and those of Germany and the Netherlands.

in no other light, than as *seculars* and *laymen* [1]. It is, however, to be observed, that the *Bizochi* were divided into two classes, which derived their respective denominations of *perfect* and *imperfect*, from the different degrees of austerity that they discovered in their manner of living. The *perfect* lived upon alms, abstained from wedlock, and had no fixed habitations. The *imperfect*, on the contrary, had their houses, wives, and possessions, and were engaged, like the rest of their fellow-citizens, in the various affairs of life [1].

XLI. We must not confound these *Beguins* and *Beguines*, who derived their origin from an austere

[1] See the *Acta Inquis. Tolos.* published by Limborch, p. 298. 302. 310. 313. and particularly 307. 326. 382. 389. &c. Among the various passages of ancient writers, which tend to illustrate the history of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in Jordan's *Chronicon*, published by Muratori, in his *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020. and confirms almost every thing we have said upon that head; *Anno* 1294. "Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosomprouio Apostatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His patientibus eremitice vivere, ut regulam B. Francisci ad literam servare possent. Quibus plures Apostatæ adhaerunt, qui statum communis damabant et declarationes regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci (he ought to have said *Fratricellos*) *Sæculares* (i. e. the *Tertiaries*, who were the friends and associates of the *Fratricelli*, without quitting, however, their secular state, or entering into the monastic order); *Sæculares* autem vocarunt *Bizochios* aut *Fratricellos* vel *Bocafotos*." Jordan, however, errs in affirming, that the *Sæculares* were called *Fratricelli*; for the latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. Francis, and not to the *Tertiaries*. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and shew that the more austere professors of the Franciscan rule were divided into two classes, viz. into *friars* and *seculars*, and that the latter were called *Bizochi*. "Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus pontifex regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio papatus auctoritatem . . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia," &c.

[1] This division is mentioned, or supposed by several authors, and more especially in the *Acta Inquisit. Tolosane*, p. 303. 310. &c.

branch

branch of the Franciscan order, with the German and Belgic *Beguines*, who crept out of their obscurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a very short space of time [u]. Their origin was of earlier date than this century; but it was only now that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and lived under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of honest industry, reserving to themselves the li-

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[u] In the seventeenth century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands on this subject. In the course of this controversy it was proved, by the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, that so early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been several societies of *Beguines* established in *Holland* and *Flanders*. It is true, that no more than three of these authentic acts were produced; the first was drawn up in the year 1065, the second in 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up at *Vilworden*, by the *Beguines*, who, at that time, were settled there. See Aub. Miræus, *Opera Diplomatico-historica*, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948. and tom. iii. p. 623. edit. nov.—Erycius Puteanus, *de Begbinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio*. This treatise of Puteanus is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled *Josephi Geldolphi à Ryckel Vita S. Begga cum Adnotationibus*, p. 65—227. *Duaci*, 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that those writers have not fallen into an error who place the rise of the *Beguines* in the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the small number of authentic records, which they have to produce in favour of their antiquity, is an incontestable proof of the obscurity in which they lay concealed before the time in which these authors placed their origin, and may render it almost probable, that the only convent of *Beguines*, that existed before the thirteenth century, was that of *Vilworden* in *Brabant*.

berty

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berly of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety and devotion, were distinguished by the title of *Beguines*, i. e. persons who were uncommonly *assiduous in prayer*, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking [w]. The first regular society of this kind that we read of, was formed at *Nivelles* in *Brabant*, in the year 1226 [x]; and was followed by so many institutions of a like nature in *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, that, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there was scarcely a city of any note, that had not its *beguinage*, or *vineyard*, as it was sometimes called in conformity to the style of the *Song of Songs* [y]. All these female societies were

[w] All the *Beghards* and *Beguines* that yet remain in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where their convents have almost entirely changed their ancient and primitive form, affirm unanimously, that both their name and institution derive their origin from St. Beghe, duchess of *Brabant*, and daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace of the king of *Aufroasia*, who lived in the seventh century. This lady, therefore, they consider as their patroness, and honour her as a kind of tutelar divinity with the deepest sentiments of veneration and respect. See Jos. Geld. à Ryckel, in *vita S. Begge cum Adrotat. Duaci et Lovanii edita*; a work of great bulk and little merit, and full of the most silly and insipid fables. — Those who are not well-wishers to the cause of the *Beguines*, adopt a quite different account of their origin, which they deduce from Lambert le Begue, a priest and native of *Liege*, who lived in the twelfth century, and was much esteemed for his eminent piety. The learned Peter Coens, canon of *Antwerp*, has defended this opinion with more erudition than any other writer, in his *Dissertatio Historica de Origine Beginarum et Beguinagiorum in Belgio*, Leod. 1672.

☞ [x] Other historians say, in the year 1207.

[y] See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major. ed. An.* 1223 and 1250. p. 520. 696. — Thomas Cantimpratus in *Bezo Unvers. de Apibus*, lib. iii. cap. li. p. 278. edit. *Calaneo ii.* — Petrus de Herental, in his *Annales*, from which, though they are not yet

were not governed by the same laws; but, in the greatest part of them, the hours that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exercises, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours. The poor, sick, and disabled Beguines were supported by the pious liberality of such opulent persons as were friends to the order.

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XII. This female institution was soon imitated in Flanders by the other sex; and considerable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themselves into communities of the same kind with those of the *Beguines*, under the inspection and government of a certain chief, and with the same religious views and purposes; reserving to themselves, however, the liberty of returning to their former mode of life [2]. These pious persons were, in the style of this age, called *Beghards*, and (by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and Dutch) *Bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *Lollards*: in France they were distinguished at first by that of *Bons Valets*, or *Bons Garçons*, and afterwards by that of *Beguins*: they were also styled the *Fraternity of Weavers*, from the trade which the greatest part of them exercised. The first *Beghard* society seems to have been that which was established at *Antwerp* in the year 1223: this continues still in a flourishing

Beghards,
or Lollards.

yet published, we have a very remarkable passage cited by Jos. Geld. à Ryckel, in his *Observationes ad vit. m. S. Begge*, sect. cxcvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of *Beguines*, that were founded during this and the following century in *Holland* and *Flanders*, are treated in an ample manner by Aub. Miræus, in his *Opera Historico-diplomatica*, John Bapt. Grammaye, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*, Anton. Sanders, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*, and by other writers of the Belgic history.

[2] Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*, ad An. 1253, p. 539, 540.

state;

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state; though the brethren of whom it is composed have long since departed from their primitive rule of discipline and manners. This establishment was followed by many other associations of Beghards in Germany, France, Holland, and Flanders; though, after all their success, their congregations were less numerous than those of the Beguines [a]. It is worthy of observation, that the Roman pontiffs never honoured the societies of the Beghards and Beguines with their solemn or explicit approbation, or confirmed their establishments by the seal of their authority. They, however, granted them a full toleration, and even defended them often against the stratagems and violence of their enemies, who were many in number. This appears by the edicts in favour of the Beghards, which the pontiffs granted in compliance with the solicitations of many illustrious personages, who wished well to that society. It did not, however, continue always to flourish. The greatest part of the convents, both of the Beghards and Beguines, are now either demolished, or converted to other uses. In Flanders, indeed, a considerable number of the latter still subsist, but few of the former are to be found in any country.

Greek writers.

XIII. After the accounts hitherto given of the rulers of the church, and of the religious orders that were instituted or became famous

[a] See Ryckel's *Vita S. Begge*, p. 635.—Ant. Sanderi *Flandria Illustrata*, lib. iii. c. xvi. p. 36. Jo. Bapt. Grammaye's *Antiquit. Fland.* p. 22.—Aub. Miræi *Opera Diplom. Hist.* tom. iii. c. clviii. p. 145.—Helyet. *Hist. des Ordres*, tome vii. p. 248, who is nevertheless chargeable with many errors.—Gerardus Antoninus, Pater Minister (so the head of the order is called in our times) Beghardorum Antwerpierisium, in Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et fatis, in Ryckelii *Vita S. Begge*, p. 489. This author, indeed, from a spirit of partiality to his order, conceals the truth designedly in various places.

during

uring this century, it will not be improper to conclude this chapter, by mentioning briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same period, acquired fame by their learned productions. The most eminent among the Greeks were,

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Nicetas Acominatus, who composed a work entitled, *the History and Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*;

Germanus*, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we have yet extant, among other productions of less note, *a Book against the Latins*, and *an Exposition of the Greek Liturgy*;

Theodorus Lascaris, who left behind him several treatises upon various subjects of a religious nature, and who also entered the lists against the Latins, which was the reigning passion among such of the Greeks as were endowed with tolerable parts, and were desirous of shewing their zeal for the honour of their nation;

Nicephorus Blemmida, who employed his talents in the salutary work of healing the divisions between the Greeks and Latins;

Arsenius, whose *Synopsis of the Canon Law of the Greeks*, is far from being contemptible;

Georgius Acropolita, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his historical writings, but also by the transactions and negotiations in which he was employed by the emperor Michael;

Johannes Beccus or Veccus, who involved himself in much trouble, and excited the odium of many, by defending the cause of the Latins against his own nation with too much zeal;

George Metochita, and Constantine Meliteniota, who employed, without success, their most earnest efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

George Pachymeres, who acquired a name by his commentary upon Dionysius, the pretended

chief

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chief of the mystics, and by a history which he composed of his own time; and,

George the *Cyprian*, whose hatred of the Latins, and warm opposition to Veccus abovementioned, rendered him more famous than all his other productions [*b*].

Latin writers.

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century, renders it impossible for us to mention them all; we shall therefore confine our account to those among them, who were the most eminent, and whose theological writings demand most frequently our notice in the course of this history. Such are,

Joachim, abbot of *Flora* in *Calabria*, who, though esteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was, nevertheless, a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthusiastic and visionary notions, and was therefore considered, during his life and after his death, by the miserable and blinded multitude, as a prophet sent from above. The pretended prophecies of this silly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently published [*c*];

Stephen Langton, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who wrote commentaries upon the greatest part of the books of scripture [*d*];

Francis, the founder of the famous society of *Friars-minors*, or *Franciscans*, whose writings were

[*b*] For a more ample account of all these writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

[*c*] The life of Joachim was written in Italian by Gregory di Lauro, and published in 4to. at *Naples* in the year 1660. The first edition of his prophecies appeared at *Venice*, in the year 1517; and it was followed by several new editions, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, great and small.

☞ [*d*] Langton was a learned and polite author for the age in which he lived. To him we are indebted for the division of the Bible into chapters. He wrote commentaries upon all the books of the Old Testament, and upon St. Paul's Epistles.

designed -

designed to touch the heart, and excite pious and devout sentiments, but discover little genius, and less judgment ;

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Alan de l'Isle, a logician, who made no mean figure among the disputatious tribe, who applied himself also to the study of chemistry, and published several moral discourses, in which there are many wise and useful exhortations and precepts [e] ;

Jacobus de Vitriaco, who acquired a name by his *Oriental History* ; and Jacobus de Voragine, whose *History of the Lombards* [f] was received with applause.

The writers of this century, who obtained the greatest renown on account of their laborious researches in what was called philosophical or dialectical theology, were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, who were respectively possessed of an inquisitive turn of mind, a sublime and penetrating genius, accompanied with an uncommon talent of exploring the most hidden truths, and treating with facility the most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable with errors and reveries that do little honour to their memories [g]. The other

[e] Several of the name of Alan lived in this century, who have been strangely confounded, both by ancient and modern writers. See Jaq. le Boeuf, *Memoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tome i. p. 300. & *Differt. sur l'Hist. Civil. et Ecclésiast. de Paris*, tome ii. p. 293.

[f] Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Domin.* tom. p. 454.—Bollandi *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9.

[g] For an account of Albert, see Echard. *Script. Dom.* tom. i. p. 162.—For an account of Thomas Aquinas, who was called the *Angel of the Scholastics* among other splendid titles, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 655. & Ant. Touron, *Vie de St. Thomas, Paris*, 1737, in 4to.—We have also a circumstantial relation of whatever concerns the life, writings,

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other writers, who trod the same intricate paths of metaphysical divinity, were many in number, and several of them were justly admired, though much inferior in renown to the celebrated triumvirate now mentioned; such were Alexander Hales, the interpreter of Aristotle, William of Paris [*b*], Robert Capito [*i*], Thomas Cantipratensis, John of Peckham, William Durand, Roger Bacon [*k*], Richard Middleton, Giles de Columna, Armand de Bello Vifu, and several others.

Hugo de St. Caro gained much applause by his *Concordance* of the Holy Bible [*l*].

Guillaume de St. Amour carried on with great spirit and resolution, but with little success, a literary and theological war against those friars who looked upon begging as a mark of sanctity.

Humbert de Romanis drew up a system of rules and precepts, with a view of subjecting to a better regulation the lives and manners of the monastic orders.

ings, and exploits of Bonaventura, the tutelar saint of the *Lionnois*, in *France*, in the two following books, *viz.* *Colonia's Histoire Literaire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307. and the *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventure, par un Religieux Cordelier, a Lyon*, 1747, in 8vo.

[*b*] See the *Gallia Christiana*, published by the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

[*i*] Anthony Wood has given an ample account of Robert Capito, in his *Antiquitat. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 81. 105.

[*k*] We are surprised to find Roger Bacon thrust here into a crowd of vulgar *literati*, since that great man, whose astonishing genius and universal learning have already been noticed, was in every respect superior to Albert and Bonaventura, two of the heroes of Dr. Mosheim's triumvirate.

[*l*] Hugo de St. Caro, or *St. Cher*, composed also a very learned collection of the various readings of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts of the Bible. This work, which he entitled *Correktorium Biblie*, is preserved in manuscript in the Sorbonne library. We must not forget to observe also, that his *Concordance* is the first that ever was compiled.

Gui-

William Perald arose in this century to a high degree of literary renown, in consequence of a system of morals he published under the title of *Summa Virtutum et Vitiatorum* [m].

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Raymond Martin yet survives the oblivion that has covered many of his contemporaries; and his *Pugio Fidei*, or *Sword of Faith*, which he drew against the Jews and Saracens, has escaped the ruins of time.

John of Paris deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice, since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of Christ in that holy ordinance [n].

CHAP. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian Church, during this century.

I. **H**OWEVER numerous and deplorable were the corruptions and superstitious abuses that had hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, they were nevertheless increased in this century, instead of being reformed; and the religion of

The general state of religion.

[m] See Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322.

[n] We may learn his opinion concerning the eucharist from his treatise entitled *Determinatio de S. Cena*, published in 8vo at London, by the learned Dr. Allix, in the year 1686.—See also Echardi *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 501.—Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 4. 576, 577.

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Christ continued to suffer under the growing tyranny of fanaticism and superstition. The progress of reason and of truth was retarded among the Greeks and Orientals, by their immoderate aversion to the Latins, their blind admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud which had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. On the one hand, the Roman pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might have even the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives; and therefore they laboured assiduously to keep the multitude in the dark, and to blast every attempt that was made towards a reformation in the doctrine or discipline of the church. On the other hand the school divines, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks made the greatest figure on account of their unintelligible jargon and subtilty, shed perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate distinctions and endless divisions, and by that caviling, quibbling, disputatious spirit, which is the mortal enemy both of truth and virtue. It is true that these scholastic doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting the truth; the most enormous and criminal corruptors of Christianity were those who led the multitude into the two following abominable errors; that it was in the power of man to perform, if he wished, a more perfect obedience than God required; and that the whole of religion consisted in an external air of gravity, and in certain composed bodily gestures.

II. It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts.

In

At the fourth Lateran council, convoked by Innocent III. in the year 1215, and at which an extraordinary number of ecclesiastics were assembled [o], that imperious pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than twenty laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed and extended, but also new doctrines, or *articles of faith*, were imposed upon Christians. Hitherto the opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ were *present* in the eucharist, were extremely different; nor had the church determined, by any clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reserved for Innocent to put an end to the liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed, of interpreting this presence in the manner he thought most agreeable to the declarations of scripture, and to decide in favour of the most absurd and monstrous doctrine that the phrensy of superstition was capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pronounced the opinion, that is embraced at his day in the church of *Rome* with regard to that point, to be the only true and orthodox account of the matter; and he *had the honour* of introducing and establishing the use of the term *Transubstantiation*, which was hitherto absolutely unknown [p]. The same pontiff placed, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a priest; a confession that implied not only a general acknowledgement, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent.

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New articles
of faith im-
posed by In-
nocent III.

[o] At this council there were present 412 bishops, 800 abbots and priors, besides the ambassadors of almost all the European princes.

[p] See Edm. Albertinus, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

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Before this period several doctors, indeed, looked upon this kind of *confession*, as a duty inculcated by divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confession of sin was justly deemed an essential duty, yet it was left to every Christian's choice, to make the confession mentally to the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confidant and director [q]. These two laws, which, by the authority of Innocent, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages; and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

The sect of
the Flagel-
lantes, or
Whippers.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the phrensy that prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times, than the rise of the sect called *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, which sprang up in *Italy* in the year 1260, and thence diffused itself through almost all the countries of *Europe*. The societies that embraced this new discipline, presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle that can well be conceived; multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, ran through the public places of the most populous cities, and also through the fields and deserts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild

[q] See the book of the learned Daille, concerning *Auricular Confession*.

shrieks,

shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves and others, by their voluntary mortification and penance [r]. This method of appeasing the Deity was perfectly conformable to the notions of religion that generally prevailed in this century; nor did these fanatical *Flagellators* do any thing more, in this extravagant discipline, than practise the lessons they had received from the monks, especially from the mendicant fanatics. Hence they attracted the esteem and veneration, not only of the populace, but also of their rulers, and were honoured and revered by all ranks and orders, on account of their extraordinary sanctity and virtue. Their sect, however, did not always continue in the same high degree of credit and reputation; for though the primitive *Whippers* were exemplary in point of morals, yet their societies were augmented, as might naturally be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble, many of whom were infected with the most ridiculous and even impious opinions. Hence both the emperors and pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this religious phrensy, by declaring all devout flagellation contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the soul's eternal interests.

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IV. The Christian interpreters and commentators of this century differ very little from those of the preceding times. The greatest part of them pretended to draw from the depths of truth (or rather of their imaginations) what they called the *internal juice and marrow* of the scriptures,

The method of interpreting and explaining the scriptures little altered in this century.

[r] Christ. Schotgenii *Historia Flagellantium*.—Jaques Boileau, *Histoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the *Whippers*, exhibited in Martenne's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tome ii. p. 105. with which the reader may compare Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469.

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i. e. their hidden and mysterious sense; and this they did with so little dexterity, so little plausibility and invention, that the greater part of their explications must appear insipid and nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of judgment and taste. If our readers be desirous of a proof of the justice of this censure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruse the explications that have been given by archbishop Langton, Hugh de St. Cher, and Antony of *Padua*, of the various books of the *Old* and *New Testament*. The *Mystic* doctors carried this visionary method of interpreting scripture to the greatest height, and displayed the most laborious industry, or rather the most egregious folly, in searching for mysteries, where reason and common sense could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too *penetrating and quick-sighted* not to perceive clearly in the holy scriptures all those doctrines that were agreeable to their idle and fantastic system. Nor were their adversaries, the school-men, entirely averse to this arbitrary and fanciful manner of interpretation; though their principal industry was employed rather in collecting the explications given by the ancient doctors, than in inventing new ones, as appears from the writings of Alexander Hales, William Alvernus, and Thomas Aquinas himself. We must not, however, omit observing, that the scholastic doctors in general, and more especially these now mentioned, had recourse often to the subtilties of logic and metaphysics, to assist them in their explications of the sacred writings. To facilitate the study and interpretation of these divine books, Hugh de St. Cher composed his *Concordance* [s], and the Dominicans, under the eye of their supreme chief,

[s] Echardi *Scriptor. Ord. Predicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

the

the learned Jordan, gave a new edition of the Latin translation of the Bible, carefully revised and corrected from the ancient copies [t]. The monks contributed nothing that deserves attention towards the illustration of the Holy Scriptures; the greatest part of which were expounded with great learning by Gregory Abulpharaj, a celebrated Syrian, whose erudition was famous throughout the east, and whom we have already had occasion to mention [u].

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V. Systems of theology and ethics were multiplied exceedingly in this century; and of those writers, who treated of the divine perceptions and worship, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience, the number is too great to permit specification. All such as were endowed with any considerable degree of genius and eloquence employed their labours upon these noble branches of sacred science, more especially the academical and public teachers, among whom the Dominicans and Franciscans held the most eminent rank. It is, indeed, unnecessary to mention the names, nor enumerate the productions of these doctors, since whoever is acquainted with the characters and writings of Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, will know every thing that is worthy of note in the rest, who were no more than their echoes. The latter of these truly great men, commonly called the *Angel of the Schools*, or the *Angelic Doctor*, sat unrivaled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a re-

The state
of the didac-
tic theology.

[t] Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par M. Du Pin, tome i. p. 34.

[u] Jof. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 177.

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gular system, and illustrated and explained them in a scientific manner. For no sooner had his system, or *sum* of theology and morals, seen the light, than it was received almost universally with the highest applause, placed in the same rank with the famous *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and admitted as the standard of truth, and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and the youth their method of study. Some writers, indeed, have denied that Thomas was the author of the celebrated system that bears his name [*w*]; but the reasons which they allege in support of this notion are destitute of evidence and solidity [*x*].

The scholastic doctors, for the most part, Realists*.

VI. The greatest part of these doctors followed Aristotle as their model, and made use of the logical and metaphysical principles of that subtle philosopher, in illustrating the doctrines of Christianity, and removing the difficulties with which some of them were attended. In their philosophical explications of the more sublime truths of that divine religion, they followed the hypothesis of the *Realists*, which sect, in this century, was much more numerous and flourishing than that of the *Nominalists*, on account of the lustre and credit it derived from the authority of Thomas Aquinas and Albert, its learned and venerable patrons. Yet, notwithstanding all the subtilty and

[*w*] See Jo. Launoii *Traditio Ecclesie circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

[*x*] See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sec. xiii.* p. 391. — Echard and Quetif, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. Sec. xiii.* tom. i. p. 293. — Ant. Touron, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

* In the original we find *Præstivi* in the margin, which is manifestly a fault; since the *Præstivi* were quite opposite, in their method of teaching, to the schoolmen, and were the same with *Biblici* mentioned in the following section. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. sect. VIII.

penetration

penetration of these *irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic* doctors, as they were usually styled, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit, than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For, not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous barbarity of their style, and their extravagant and presumptuous desire of prying into matters that infinitely surpass the comprehension of short-sighted mortals, they were chargeable with defects in their manner of reasoning, which every true philosopher will, of all others, be most careful to avoid. For they neither defined their terms accurately, (and hence arose innumerable disputes merely about words,) nor did they divide their subject with perspicuity and precision; and hence they generally treated it in a confused and unsatisfactory manner. The great *Angelic Doctor* himself, notwithstanding his boasted method, was defective in these respects; his definitions are often vague, or obscure, and his plans or divisions, though full of art, are frequently destitute of clearness and proportion.

VII. The method of investigating divine truth by reason and philosophy remarkably prevailed, and was followed with such ardour, that the number of those, who, in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures and the

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The number of compilers, or Bibliasts * greatly diminished.

* In the margin of the original, instead of *Bibliasts*, which we find in the text, Dr. Mosheim has written *Sententiarum*, which is undoubtedly an oversight. The *Sententiarum*, or followers of Peter Lombard, who is considered as the father of the scholastic philosophy, are to be placed in the same class with the philosophical divines, mentioned in the preceding section, and were very different from the *Biblici*, both in their manner of thinking and teaching.

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writings of the fathers, and who acquired on that account the name of *Biblicists*, diminished from day to day. It is true, indeed, that several persons of eminent piety [*y*], and even some of the Roman pontiffs [*z*], exhorted with great seriousness and warmth the *scholastic* divines, and more especially those of the university of *Paris*, to change their method of teaching theology, and (relinquishing their philosophical abstraction and subtilty) to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures with that purity and simplicity with which it was delivered by the inspired writers. But these admonitions and exhortations were without effect; the evil was too inveterate to admit a speedy remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysics had become so general and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could check its presumption, or allay its ardour. In justice however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the gospel, or the authority of tradition; though it is sufficiently proved, by what they drew from these two sources, that they had studied neither with much attention or application of mind [*a*]. And it is moreover certain, that, in process of time, they committed

[*y*] See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9. 129. 180.—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 91.

[*z*] See the famous epistle of Gregory IX. to the professors in the university of *Paris*, published in Du Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 129. The pontiff concludes that remarkable epistle with the following words: "Mandamus et strictè præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ doceatis theologicam puritatem, non adulterantes verbum Dei philosophorum figmentis... sed, contenti terminis a patribus institutis, mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu cœlestis eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant de fontibus Salvatoris."

[*a*] Faydit, *Alteration du Dogme Théologique par la Philosophie d'Aristote*, p. 289.—Richard Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesi.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 170. 187.

to others the care of consulting the sources now mentioned, and reserved to themselves the much-respected province of philosophy, and the intricate mazes of dialectical chicane. And, indeed, independent of their philosophical vanity, we may assign another reason for this method of proceeding, drawn from the nature of their profession, and the circumstances in which they were placed. For the greatest part of these subtle doctors were Dominican or Franciscan friars; and as the monks of these orders had no possessions, not even libraries, and led, besides, wandering and itinerant lives, such of them as were ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of authorship, were, for the most part, obliged to draw their materials from their own genius and memory, being destitute of all other succours.

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VIII. The opinions which these philosophical divines instilled into the minds of the youth, appeared to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dangerous and even pernicious; and hence they used their utmost efforts to stop the progress of these opinions, and to diminish the credit and influence of their authors. Nor was their opposition at all ill-grounded; for the subtle doctors of the school not only explained the mysteries of religion in a manner conformable to the principles of their presumptuous logic, and modified them according to the dictates of their imperfect reason, but also promoted the most impious sentiments and tenets concerning the Supreme Being, the material world, the origin of the universe, and the nature of the soul. And when it was objected to these sentiments and tenets, that they were in direct contradiction to the genius of Christianity, and to the express doctrines of scripture, these scholastic quibblers had recourse, for a reply, or rather for a method of escape, to that

Much opposition made to the scholastic doctors.

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that perfidious distinction, which has been frequently employed by modern deists,—that these tenets were *philosophically true*, and conformable to right reason, but that they were, indeed, *theologically false*, and contrary to the orthodox faith. This produced an open war between the *Biblicists*, or Bible-divines, and the scholastic doctors; which was carried on with great warmth throughout the whole course of this century, particularly in the universities of *Oxford* and *Paris*, where we find the former loading the latter with the heaviest reproaches in their public acts and in their polemic writings, and accusing them of corrupting the doctrines of the gospel, both in their public lessons, and in their private discourse [*b*]. Even St. Thomas himself was accused of holding opinions contrary to the truth; his orthodoxy, at least, was looked upon as extremely dubious by many of the Parisian doctors [*c*]. He accordingly saw a formidable scene of opposition arising against him, but had the good fortune to conjure the storm, and to escape untouched. Others, whose authority was less extensive, and whose names were less respectable, were treated with greater severity. The living were obliged to confess publicly their errors; and the memories of the dead, who had persevered in them to the last, were branded with infamy.

The mystics oppose the schoolmen.

IX. But the most formidable adversaries the scholastic doctors had to encounter, were the *Mystics*, who, rejecting every thing that bore the least resemblance to argumentation or dispute about

[*b*] See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 541.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 397. 430. 433. 472, &c.

[*c*] See J. Launoy, *Histor. Gymnas. Navarreni*, part III. lib. iii. cap. cxvi. tom. iv. op. part I. p. 485.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 204.—Petri Zorni *Opuscula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445.—R. Simon, *Lettres Choïses*, tom. ii. p. 266.—Echardi *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator*, tom. i. p. 435.

matters

flatters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the highest degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their passions, than with what is only addressed to their reason, were attached to the *Mystics* in the warmest manner; and his gave such weight to the reproaches and inectives which they threw out against the *school-men*, that the latter thought it more prudent to disarm these favourites of the multitude by mild and submissive measures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterness. They accordingly set themselves to flatter the *Mystics*, and not only extolled their *sentimental* system, but employed their pens in illustrating and defending it; they even associated it with the scholastic philosophy, though they were as different from each other as any two things could be. It is well known that Bonaventura, Albert the Great, Robert Capito, and Thomas Aquinas, contributed to this reconciliation between Mysticism and Dialectics by their learned labours, and even went so far as to write commentaries upon Dionysius, the chief of the Mystics, whom these subtle doctors probably looked upon with a secret contempt.

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X. Both the school-men and mystics of this century treated, in their writings, of the obligations of morality, the duties of the Christian life, and of the means that were most adapted to preserve or deliver the soul from the servitude and contagion of vice; but their methods of handling these important subjects were, as may be easily conceived, entirely different. We may form an idea of mystical morality from the *Observations of George Pachymeres, upon the writings of Dionysius*, and from the *Spiritual Institutes, or Abridgement*

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of Christian
morality.

†

ment of *St. Thomas Aquinas*, composed by *Thomas* as a commentary on which productions the former was written in Greek and the latter in Latin. As to the *scholastic* method, they were immutably employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the character of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence a prodigious number of laws or inferential conclusions of virtue and vice appeared in the century. The *scholastic* divided the virtues into two orders. The first comprehended the moral virtues, which arise, in no respect, from those which Aristotle recommended in his *Ethics*. The second contained the theological virtues, which are consequences of what *St. Paul* says, *1 Cor. 13*, and the three made no credit in *John*, *13*, and *14*. In explaining and illustrating the nature of the virtues comprehended in these two orders, they seemed rather to have in view the pleasure of disputing, than the design of instructing; and they extracted all their authority in relating authorities which were of their own creation. *Thomas Aquinas* alone forth as a star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fog. The second part of this famous *Summa* was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in defining and illustrating the various duties that result from them; and this part of his learned labour has had the honour and misfortune of passing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

An interesting note on the manner of treating moral's in this century.

XI. It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution, and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that, though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings, yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which they

they really bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but from the manner in which these virtues are illustrated by those quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties, which Christ and his disciples inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A *pious* and *holy* man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But, in the style of the moral writers of this age, that person was *pious* and *holy*, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the priesthood, to build churches, and found monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning *justice*, at all conformable to the nature of that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures, since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile, torment, persecute, and even put to death, a *heretic*, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly the decrees of the pontiffs, or to believe all the absurdities which they imposed upon the credulity of the multitude.

XII. The writers of controversy in this century were more numerous than respectable. Nicetas Acominatus, who made a considerable figure among the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his work entitled, *The treasure of the Orthodox Faith*; but he combated after the Grecian manner, and defended the cause which he had espoused, rather by the decrees of councils

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versial theo-
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cils and the decisions of the fathers, than by the dictates of reason, and the authority of scripture. Raymond of Pennafort was one of the first among the Latins, who abandoned the unchristian method of converting infidels by the force of arms and the terrors of capital punishments, and who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument [*d*]. This engaged in the same controversy a considerable number of able disputants, who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages; among whom Raymond Martin, the celebrated author of the *Sword of Faith* [*e*], is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. Thomas Aquinas also appeared with dignity among the Christian champions; and his book against the Gentiles [*f*] is far from being contemptible: nor ought we to omit mentioning a learned book of Alan de l'Isle, which was designed to refute the objections of both Jews and Pagans [*g*]. The writers, who handled other (more particular) branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth, than to render their adversaries odious.

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins continued.

XIII. The grand controversy, between the Greek and Latin church, was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, proved ineffectual. Gregory IX. employed the ministry of the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and pur-

[*d*] Echard et Quetif apud *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.* tom. i. sect. xiii. p. 106.

[*e*] Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article Martini.—Pauli Colomesii *Hispania Orient.* p. 209.

[*f*] Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Delect. Argumentorum et Scriptorum pro veritate Relig. Christian.* p. 270.

[*g*] *Liber contra Judeos et Paganos.*

performed with zeal this laudable purpose from the year 1232, to the end of his pontificate, but without the least appearance of success [b]. Innocent IV. embarked in the same undertaking, in the year 1247, and with that view sent John of *Parma*, with other Franciscan friars, to *Nice*; while the Grecian pontiff came in person to *Rome*, and was declared legate of the *apostolic see* [i]. But these previous acts of mutual civility and respect, which excited the hopes of such as longed for the conclusion of these violent discords, did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. New incidents arose to blast the influence of these salutary measures, and the flame of dissension recovered new vigour. Under the pontificate of Urban IV., however, the aspect of things changed for the better; and the negotiations for peace were renewed with such success, as promised a speedy conclusion of these unhappy divisions. For Michael Palæologus had no sooner driven the Latins out of *Constantinople*, than he sent ambassadors to *Rome* to declare his pacific intentions, that thus he might establish his disputed dominion, and gain over the Roman pontiff to his side [k]. But, during the course of these negotiations, Urban's death left matters unfinished, and suspended once more the hopes and expectations of the public. Under the pontificate of Gregory X. proposals of peace were again made by the same emperor, who, after much opposition from his own clergy, sent ambassadors to the council of *Lyons* in the

[b] See Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 279. 296. & Echard, *Scriptor. Ordin. Predicator.* tom. i. p. 103. 911.—Add to these Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 386.

[i] See Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 370. 388. 393. 497. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. and iv.

[k] Wadding, tom. iv. p. 181. 201. 223. 269. 303.

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year 1274 [1]; and these deputies, with the solemn consent of John Veccus, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and several Greek bishops, publicly agreed to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Roman pontiff [m]. This re-union, however, was not durable; for the situation of affairs in *Greece* and *Italy* being changed some years after this convention, in such a manner as to deliver the former from all apprehensions of a Latin invasion, Andronicus, the son of Michael, assembled a council at *Constantinople*, in the palace of *Blachernæ*, A. D. 1284, in which, by a solemn decree, this ignominious treaty was annulled, and the famous Veccus, by whose persuasion and authority it had been concluded, was sent into exile [n]. This resolute measure, as may well be imagined, rendered the divisions more violent than they had been before the treaty was signed; and it was also followed by an open schism, and by the most unhappy discords among the Grecian clergy.

[1] See Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 343. 371. tom. v. p. 9. 29. 62.—Colonia, *Hist. Liter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 284.

[m] Joseph (not Veccus) was patriarch of *Constantinople*, when this treaty was concluded. The former had bound himself by a solemn oath never to consent to a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; for which reason the emperor, when he sent his ambassadors to *Lyon*, proposed to Joseph the following alternative: that, if they succeeded in bringing about an accommodation, he should renounce his patriarchal dignity; but, if they failed in their attempt, he was to remain patriarch, being advised, at the same time, to retire to a convent, until the matter was decided. The ambassadors were successful: Joseph was deposed, and Veccus elected in his place; when, and not before, the latter ratified the treaty in question by his solemn consent to the ignominious article of *supremacy and pre-eminence*, which it confirmed to the Roman pontiff.

[n] Leo Allatius, *de perpetua consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. c. xv. xvi. p. 727.—Fred. Spanheim *de perpet. dissensione Græcor. et Latin.* tom. ii. op. p. 188, &c.

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XIV. We pass over several controversies of a more private kind, and of inferior moment, which have nothing in their nature or circumstances to claim the attention of the curious; but we must not forget to observe that the grand dispute concerning the eucharist was still continued in this century, not only in *France*, but also in some other countries: for though Innocent III. had, in the Lateran council of the year 1215, presumptuously placed *Transubstantiation* among the avowed and regular doctrines of the Latin church, yet the authority of this decree was called in question by many, and several divines maintained the probability of the opinions that were opposed to that monstrous doctrine. Those indeed who, adopting the sentiments of Berenger, considered the bread and wine in no other light, than as signs or symbols of the body and blood of Christ, did not venture either to defend or profess this opinion in a public manner; while many thought it sufficient to acknowledge what was termed a *real presence*, though they explained the *manner* of this presence quite otherwise than the doctrine of Innocent had defined it [o]. Among these, John, surnamed Pungens Afinus, a subtle doctor of the university of *Paris*, acquired an eminent and distinguished name, and, without incurring the censure of his superiors, substituted *Consubstantiation* for *Transubstantiation* towards the conclusion of this century [p].

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The disputes concerning the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist continued.

[o] Pet. Allix. *Pref. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, published at *London* in 8vo, in the year 1686.

[p] The book of this celebrated doctor was published by the learned Allix above-mentioned. See Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 576.—Dacherii *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 58.—Echardi *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 561.

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Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the Christian Church during this century.

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Rites multiplied.

I. IT would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more striking. These additions were produced in part by the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly by the private injunctions of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who shared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the splendor and magnificence of this religious spectacle. Instead of mentioning these additions, we shall only observe in general, that religion had now become a sort of a raree-show in the hands of the rulers of the church, who, to render its impressions more deep and lasting, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the external senses. For this purpose, at stated times, and especially upon the principal festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the Christian history, were represented under allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of mimic shew [q]. But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragi-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful, to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

[q] It is probable that this licentious custom of mimic representations of religious objects, derived from the Mendicant friars.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced a series of ceremonies and institutions, still used in the church of *Rome*, in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape [*r*], and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the custom that still prevails of carrying about this *divine bread* in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are dishonourable to religion, and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finishing touch to this heap of absurdities, and displayed superstition in its highest extravagance, was the institution of the celebrated annual *Festival of the Holy Sacrament*, or, as it is sometimes called, of the *Body of Christ*; the origin of which was as follows: a certain devout woman, whose name was *Juliana*, and who lived at

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The rites instituted in relation to the eucharist.

☞ [*r*] This blasphemous language, which Dr. Mosheim is obliged to use in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were used by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to accommodate it, in some measure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the Pagans metamorphosed their Jupiter into a *bull*, a *swan*, and other such figures, when we see the rulers of the Christian church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation so vile, and (even were it not vile) so useless, that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally so, how the rulers of *Rome* could confide so far in the credulity of the people, and how they could propagate such

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Liege, declared that she had received a revelation from heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar festival should be annually observed in honour of the holy sacrament, or rather of the *real presence* of Christ's body in that sacred institution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd [1], and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by Robert, bishop of *Liege*, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the province, notwithstanding the opposition which he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of Juliana, one of her friends and companions, whose name was Eve, adopted her cause with uncommon zeal, and had sufficient credit with Urban IV. to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the Christian churches. This edict, however, did not produce its full effect, on account of the death of the pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival in question was not universally celebrated in the Latin churches before the pontificate of Clement V. [1], who, in the council which he held at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, in the year 1311, con-

[1] This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was *inwardly* informed by the Spirit, that the *moon* signified the *church*, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.

[1] See Barthol. Eifen, *Origo prima Festi Corporis Christi ex Viso Sanctæ Virgini Julianæ oblato*, published in 8vo. at *Liege*, in the year 1619.—Dallæus, *de cultus religiosi objecto*, p. 287.—*Acta Sanctor. April.* tom. i. p. 437. 903.—And above all Benedict. XIV. *Pont. Max. de Festis Christi et Mariæ*, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360. tom. x. op.

signed

firmed the edict of Urban, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the Lateran council under Innocent III. or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

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III. About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. added, to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at *Rome*, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was propagated among the inhabitants of that city, importing that all such as should visit, within the limits of the following year, the church of *St. Peter*, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service once in every period of one hundred years. Boniface no sooner heard of this, than he ordered strict enquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report; and the result of the inquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit [*u*], (say the Roman-catholic

The year of jubilee added to the rites of the church.

☞ [*u*] These *Testimonies worthy of credit* have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and who, being brought before Boniface, declared (if we may believe the abbé Fleury) that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, a hundred years before that time. See Fleury's *Hist. Eccles.* towards the end of the twelfth century.—It is, however, a very unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not the invention of Boniface, that there should be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of history or writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its celebration before the year 1305; this, with other reasons of an irresistible evidence, have persuaded some Roman catholic writers to consider the institution of the jubilee year, as the invention of this pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended that it was of a much earlier date. See Glilen. & Vîctorell. apud

Philippi Boazani *Numism. Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 22, 23.

historians)

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historians) that, from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by the service above-mentioned. No sooner had the pontiff received this information, than he addressed to all Christians an epistolary mandate, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those who, in every hundredth or jubilee year, should confess their sins, and visit, with sentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, should obtain thereby the entire remission of their various offences [*w*]. The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but, finding by experience that it added to the lustre, and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five-and-twentieth year [*x*].

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[*w*] So the matter is related by James Caietan, cardinal of *St. George*, and nephew to Boniface, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilæo anno*, which is published in his *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 426. 440. and in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason to believe that this account is erroneous and false, or that Boniface acted the part of an impostor from a principle of avarice upon this occasion.

[*N. B.*] It is not without astonishment, that we hear Dr. Mosheim deciding in this manner with respect to the *good faith* of Boniface, and the *relation* of his nephew. The character of that wicked and ambitious pontiff is well known, and the relation of the cardinal of *St. George* has been proved to be the most ridiculous, fabulous, motley piece of stuff that ever usurped the title of an historical record. See the excellent *Lettres de M. Chais sur les Jubilés* (that are mentioned more at large in the following note), tome i. p. 53.

[*x*] The various writers who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. Albert Fabricius in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316. Among the authors that may be added to this list, there is one whom we think it necessary to mention particularly, *viz.* the Reverend Charles Chais,

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*Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled
the Church during this century.*

I. **W**E have no account of any new sects that
arose among the Greeks during this
century. Those of the Nestorians and Jacobites,
established

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and Jacobites.

Chais, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, were published at the *Hague* in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1751.

☞ These letters of Mr. Chais (minister of the French church at the *Hague*, and well known in the republic of letters) contain the most full and accurate account that has been ever given of the institution of the jubilee, and of the rise, progress, abuses, and enormities, of the infamous traffic of indulgences. This account is judiciously collected from the best authors of antiquity, and from several curious records that have escaped the researches of other writers; it is also interspersed with curious, and sometimes ludicrous anecdotes, that render the work equally productive of entertainment and instruction. In the first volume of these letters, the learned author lays open the nature and origin of the institution of the jubilee; he proves it to have been a human invention, which owed its rise to the avarice and ambition of the popes, and its credit to the ignorance and superstition of the people, and whose celebration was absolutely unknown before the thirteenth century, which is the true date of its origin. He takes notice of the various changes it underwent with respect to the time of its celebration, the various colours with which the ambitious pontiffs covered it in order to render it respectable and alluring in the eyes of the multitude; and exposes these delusions by many convincing arguments, whose gravity is seasoned with an agreeable and temperate mixture of decent raillery. He proves, with the utmost evidence, that the papal jubilee is an imitation of the *Secular Games*, that were celebrated with such pomp in pagan *Rome*. He points out the gross contradictions that reign in the *bulls* of the different popes, with respect to the nature of this institution, and the time of its celebration. Nor does he pass over in silence the infamous traffic of indulgences, the worldly pomp and splendor, the crimes, debaucheries, and disorders of every kind, that were observable at the return of each jubilee year. He lays also before the reader an historical view

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established in the remoter regions of the east, who equaled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin church, were frequently solicited, by the Franciscan and Dominican papal missionaries, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicolas IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the northern parts of *Asia* [y]. The leading men, both among the Nestorians and Jacobites, seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made to them, and to wish for a reconciliation with the church of *Rome*; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

The contests of the Roman pontiffs with various sects, whom they branded indiscriminately with the name of heretics.

II. During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*; i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the church of *Rome*. For the

view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of Boniface VIII. in the year 1300, to that of Benedict XIV. in 1750, with an entertaining account of the most remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to *Rome* on these occasions. The second and third volumes of these interesting Letters treat of the *indulgences* that are administered in the church of *Rome*. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman-catholic divines relating to them stated and refuted, the history of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumstantially exposed with learning, perspicuity, and candour.

[y] Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xiii. ad A. sect. xxxii. & tom. xv. ad A. 1303. sect. xxii. sect. xxiii.—Matth. Paris.

sects of the *Cathari*, *Waldenses*, *Petrobrusians*, &c. gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all *Europe*, assembled numerous congregations in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and formed by degrees such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, unanimously agreed in this one point, *viz.* "That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments drawn from the holy scriptures, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the pontiffs and clergy, were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs, therefore, considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way proper to fill them with terror.

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III. Of these dissenters from the church of *Rome*, the number was no where greater than in *Narbonne Gaul* [z], and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by *Raymond VI.* earl of *Toulouse*, and other persons of the highest distinction; and

The rise of the inquisition in *Narbonne Gaul*.

[z] That part of *France*, which, in antient times, comprehended the provinces of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*.

where

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where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied greatly from day to day. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and, about the commencement of this century, he sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France to do what the bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in the adoption of such methods as might seem necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this commission were Rainier [a], a Cistercian monk, and Pierre de Castelnau, [b], archdeacon of *Maguelone*, who became also afterwards a Cistercian friar. These eminent missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard Dominic, founder of the order of preachers, who, returning from *Rome* in the year 1206, met with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions in the extirpation of heresy. These spirited champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the pope, without either asking the advice, or demanding the succours of the bishops, and who inflicted capital punishment upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, were distinguished in common discourse by the title of *Inquisitors*; and from them the formidable and odious tribunal, called the *Inquisition*, derived its origin.

☞ [a] Instead of Rainier, other historians mention one Raoul, or Ralph, as the associate of Pierre de Castelnau. See Fleury's *Histoire Eccles.* liv. lxxvii. sect. xii.

[b] The greatest part of the Roman writers consider Pierre de Castelnau as the first *inquisitor*. It will appear hereafter in what sense this assertion may be admitted. For an account of this legate, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, p. 411.

IV. When

IV. When this new set of heresy-hunters [c]. had executed their commission, and purged the provinces to which they were sent of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their excellent services, that they established missionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed *Inquisitors* in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people shewed to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council convoked at Toulouse, in the year 1229, by Romanus, cardinal of *St. Angelo*, and pope's legate, went still farther, and erected in every city a set or society of *inquisitors, consisting of one priest and three laymen* [d]. This institution was, however, superseded in the year 1233 by Gregory IX., who intrusted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in *France*, and in a formal epistle discharged the bishops from the burthen of that painful office [e]. Immediately after this, the bishop of *Tournay*, who was the pope's legate in *France*, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume

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The form of
the inquisition
settled.

☞ [c] The term of Heresy-hunters, for, which the translator is responsible, will not seem absurd, when it is known, that the missionaries, who were sent into the provinces of *France* to extirpate heresy, and the inquisitors who succeeded them, were bound by an oath, not only to seek for the heretics in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking-places, but also in woods, caves, fields, &c.

[d] See Harduini *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

[e] Bern. Guido in *Chronico Pontif.* apud Jac. Echardum, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 88.—Percini *Historia Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus Frat. Prædicator. Tolosanae*, 1693, in 8vo.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 394.

Arnaud,

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Arnaud, *inquisitors of heretical pravity at Toulouse*, and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, selected from the monks of that celebrated order [*f*]. From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *inquisition*, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, first at *Toulouse* and afterwards at *Carcaffone* and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only *heretics*, and persons *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all who were accused of *magic, sorcery, judaism, witchcraft*, and other crimes of a spiritual kind. This tribunal, in process of time, was erected in other countries of *Europe*, though not every where with the same success [*g*].

V. The

[*f*] Echard and Percinus *loc. citat.*

[*g*] The accounts we have here given of the first rise of the *Inquisition*, though founded upon the most unexceptionable testimonies and the most authentic records, are yet very different from those that are to be found in most authors. Some learned men tell us, that the *Tribunal of the Inquisition* was the invention of St. Dominic, and was first erected by him in the city of *Toulouse*: that he, of consequence, was the first inquisitor: that the year of its institution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a solemn manner, by Innocent III. in the Lateran council of the year 1215. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorients*, p. 569.—Phil. Limborchi *Historia Inquisit.* lib. i. c. x. p. 39. and the other writers mentioned by Fabricius. I will not affirm, that the writers, who give this account of the matter, have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to say, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the first rate in point of merit and credibility. Limborch, whose *History of the Inquisition* is looked upon as a most important and capital work, is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that odious tribunal. But, however laudable that historian may have been in point of fidelity and diligence,

V. The method of proceeding in this court of inquisition was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice [b]. But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms of proceeding, that the manner of

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ligence, it is certain, that he was little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original sources, but from writers of a second class, and thus has fallen, in the course of his history into various mistakes. His account of the origin of the inquisition is undoubtedly false; nor does that which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth. The circumstances of this account, which I have mentioned in the beginning of this note, are more especially destitute of all foundation. Many of the Dominicans, who, in our times, have presided in the court of inquisition, and have extolled the sanctity of that *pious* institution, deny, at the same time, that Dominic was its founder, as also that he was the first inquisitor, or that he was an inquisitor at all. They go still farther, and affirm, that the court of inquisition was not erected during the life of St. Dominic. Nor is all this advanced inconsiderately, as every impartial inquirer into the proofs they allege will easily perceive. Nevertheless, the question, Whether or not St. Dominic was an inquisitor? seems to be merely a dispute about words, and depends entirely upon the different significations of which the term *inquisitor* is susceptible. That word, according to its original meaning, signified a person invested with the commission and authority of the Roman pontiff to extirpate heresy and oppose its abettors, but not clothed with any judicial power. But it soon acquired a different meaning, and signified a person appointed by the Roman pontiff to proceed *judicially* against heretics and such as were suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence according to their respective cases, and to deliver over to the secular arm such as persisted obstinately in their errors. In this latter sense Dominic was not an *inquisitor*; since it is well known that there were no papal judges of this nature before the pontificate of Gregory IX.; but he was undoubtedly an *inquisitor* in the original sense that was attached to that term.

[b] The records, published by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 371. shew the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.

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taking cognizance of *heretical* causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman church, the *Tribunal of penance*. It was therefore from this, that they modeled the new court of *Inquisition*, as far as a resemblance was possible; and hence arose that strange system of *inquisitorial* law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice. This is the important circumstance by which we are enabled to account for the absurd, imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquisitors, against persons that are accused of holding, what they call, heretical opinions.

The rights
and privi-
leges grant-
ed to the
inquisition.

VI. That nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, and more especially the emperor Frederic II. and Louis IX. king of *France*, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against *heretics*, and to commit to the flames, on pretence of public justice, those who were pronounced *such* by the *inquisitors*, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued by Frederic II. are well known; edicts fit only to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the most cruel death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the *inquisitors* [i]. These execrable laws were not, however,

[i] The laws of the emperor Frederic, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in Limborch's *History of the Inquisition*, 2.

ever, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, and even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven in an ignominious manner out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and Conrad of Marburg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. was one of the many victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public [k], which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury [l].

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tion, as also in the *Epistles* of Pierre de Vignes, and in Bzovius, Raynaldus, &c. The edict of St. Louis, in favour of these spiritual judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; for so it is called by the French lawyers, on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued in the year 1229, as the Benedictine monks have proved sufficiently in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 378. 575. It is also published by Catelius, in his *Hist. Comit. Tolosanor.* p. 340. and by many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of Frederic II. For a great part of the *sanctity* of good king Louis consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to *heretics*, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reason and argument. See Du Fresne, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio scripta*, p. 11. 39.

[k] The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts, by the learned John Herman Schminckius. See also Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151. 355. & Echard, *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 487.

[l] The abbé Fleury acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and lay-persons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal. See Fleury's *Hist. Eccles.* liv. lxxx. sect. xxiv.

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Severer meth-
ods are
employed
against the
heretics.

VII. When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the *inquisitors* were not immediately attended with such abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus, king of *France*, and to the leading men of that nation, urging them, by the alluring promise of the most ample *indulgences*, to extirpate all, whom he thought proper to call heretics, by fire and sword [*m*]. This exhortation was repeated with new accessions of fervour and earnestness, in the following year, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this pontiff, and his inquisitor in *France*, was put to death by the patrons of the heretics [*n*]. Not long after this, the Cistercian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the kingdom of *France*; and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides: Raymond VI. earl of *Toulouse*, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated, and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, changed sides, and embarked in the crusade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of cross-bearers commenced against the heretics (who were comprehended under the general denomination of [*o*] *Albigenses*) an open

[*m*] Innocentii Tertii *Epistole*, Lib. x. *Epist.* 49.

[*n*] Id. *ibid.* Lib. xi. *Ep.* 26, 27, 28, 29.—*Alba Sanctor.* Mart. tom. i. p. 411.

[*o*] This term is used in two senses, of which one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general and extensive sense it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics who resided at that time in *Narbonne-Gaul*, i. e. in the southern parts of *France*. This appears from the following passage of Petrus Sarnensis, who, in the *Dedication of his History of the Albigenses to Innocent III.* expresses himself thus: *Tolosani et aliarum civitatum et castrorum heretici, et defensores eorum, generaliter Albigenses vocantur.* The same author divides afterwards the *Albigenses* into various sects (*Cap.* ii. p. 3, & 8.) of

open war, which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various success, for several years. The chief director of this war was Arnald, abbot of the Cistercians, and legate of the Roman pontiff; and the commander in chief of the troops employed in this *noble* expedition was Simon, earl of *Montfort*. Raymond, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was now obliged to attack their persecutors. For Simon, who had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of Raymond, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of *Rome*. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits, conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent, at the Lateran council, A. D. 1215, the county of *Toulouse* and the other lands, belonging to the obnoxious earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the *cause of God* and of *the church*.

of which he considers that of the *Waldenses* as the least pernicious. *Mali erant Waldenses, sed comparatione aliorum hereticorum longe minus perverfi*. It was not, however, from the city of *Albiga*, or *Albi*, that the French heretics were comprehended under the general title of *Albigenses*, but from another circumstance, to wit, that the greatest part of *Narbonne-Gaul* was, in this century, called *Albigensium*, as the Benedictine monks have clearly demonstrated in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tome iii. not. xiii. p. 552. The term *Albigenses*, in its more confined sense, was used to denote those heretics who inclined towards the Manichean system, and who were otherwise known by the denominations of *Catharists*, *Publicans* or *Paulicians*, and *Bulgarians*. This appears evidently from many incontestable authorities, and more especially from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*, (published by Limborch, in his *History of the Inquisition*;) in which the *Albigenses* are carefully distinguished from the other sects that made a noise in this century.

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The fruitless
opposition
made by the
earl of Tou-
louse to the
Roman pon-
tiff.

About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of *Toulouse*. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene; but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. Raymond VII. earl of *Toulouse*, and Amalric, earl of *Montfort*, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. The former seemed at first more powerful than his adversary; and pope Honorius III. alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Louis VIII. king of *France*, by the most pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the church. The obsequious monarch listened to the solicitations of the lordly pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause of the church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of *Rome*, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor Louis the *Saint*; so that Raymond, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greatest part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a considerable portion of them, as a peace-offering to the church of *Rome* [p]. This treaty
of

[p] It was in consequence of this treaty (of which the articles were drawn up at *Meaux*, and afterwards confirmed at *Paris*,

of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy, and dispersed the champions that had appeared in its defence: the *inquisition* was established at *Toulouse*, and the heretics were not only exposed to the pious cruelties of Louis, but, what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them upon all occasions with the most inhuman severity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above-mentioned, and renewed the war against Louis and the inquisitors, who abused, in the most odious manner, their victory and the power they had acquired. But this new effort, in favour of the heretics, was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of *Toulouse*, the last representative of that noble and powerful family, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of *France* and to the Roman pontiffs [q].

IX. The

Paris, in presence of Louis) that the university of *Toulouse* was founded, Raymond having bound himself thereby to pay the sum of 4000 silver marcs, toward the support of two professors of divinity, two of canon law, two of grammar, and six of the liberal arts, during the space of ten years. We must also observe, that what Dr. Mosheim says of the cession that Raymond made of his lands is not sufficiently clear and accurate. These lands were not to be transferred till after his death, and they were to be transferred to the brother of Louis IX. who, according to the treaty, was to espouse the daughter of Raymond. See Fleury's *Hist. Eccles.* liv. lxxix. sect. 50.

[q] Many writers, both ancient and modern, have related the circumstances of this religious war, that was carried on against the earls of *Toulouse* and their confederates, and also against the heretics, whose cause they maintained. But none of the historians, whom I have consulted on this subject, have treated it

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The Bre-
thren and
Sisters of the
free spirit.

IX. The severity which the court of *Rome* employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in different countries. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration; while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter we may reckon that of the Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit, which about this time gained ground secretly and almost imperceptibly in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes, by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members who composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we

with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historic writing. The protestant writers, among whom Basnage deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to Raymond and the *Albigenses*; the Roman-catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of the latter, the most recent are Benedict, a Dominican monk, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et des Barbetais*, published at *Paris*, in 1691, in two volumes 12mo.—J. Bapt. L'Anglois, a Jesuit, who composed the *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, published at *Rouen* in 1703, to which we must add Jo. Jac. Percini *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis Fratrum Predicator. in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensum facti narratio, Tolose*, 1693, 4to. These writers are chargeable with the greatest partiality and injustice for the reproaches and calumnies they throw out so liberally against the Raymonds and the Albigenses, while they disguise, with a perfidious dexterity, the barbarity of Simon of Montfort, and the ambitious views of extending their dominions that engaged the kings of *France* to enter into this war. The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the heretics is that which is given by the learned Benedictines Claude le Vic and Joseph Vaissette, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc, Paris*, 1730, tome iii. in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.

cannot

cannot say with certainty, because we have upon record only a few of the decrees that were issued upon that occasion. Perhaps the obscurity of the rising faction screened it, in a great measure, from public view. But this was not the case in the following age; the *Brethren* and *Sisters* above-mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increased: they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly those of the *inquisitors*, who committed to the flames such of these unhappy enthusiasts as fell into their hands; while the councils, holden in *Germany* and other countries, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

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This new sect took their denomination from the words of St. Paul [*r*], and maintained that the true children of God were invested with the privilege of a full and perfect *freedom* from the jurisdiction of the *law* [*s*]. They were called, by the Germans and Flemish, *Beghards* and *Beguittes*, names which, as we have seen already, were usually given to those who made an extraordinary profession of piety and devotion. They

[*r*] *Romans* viii. 2. 14.

[*s*] The accounts we here give of these wretched fanatics are, for the most part, taken from authentic records, which have not been yet published, from the decrees of synods and councils held in *France* and *Germany*, from the *Diplomas* of the Roman pontiffs, the sentences pronounced by the inquisitors, and other sources of information to which I have had access. I have also a collection of extracts from certain books of these enthusiasts, and more especially from that which treated of the *Nine Spiritual Rocks*, and which was in the highest esteem among the free brethren, who considered it as a treasure of divine wisdom and doctrine. As I cannot expose here these records to the examination of the curious reader, I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict issued out against these brethren by Henry I. archbishop of *Cologne*, and published in the *Statuta Colonienſis*, A. 1554, p. 58. This edict is, in every respect, conformable to those published on the same occasion at *Mentz*, *Aſchaffenburg*, *Paderborn*, *Beziers*, *Treves*, and other places.

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received from others the reproachful denomination of *Bicorni*, i. e. Ideots. In *France*, they were known by the appellation of *Beguins*, and *Beguines*, while the multitude distinguished them by that of *Turlupins*, the origin and reason of which title I have not been able to learn [*t*]. Nothing carried a more shocking air of lunacy and distraction than their external aspect and manners. They ran from place to place clothed in the most singular and fantastic apparel, and begged their bread with wild shouts and clamours, rejecting with horror every kind of industry and labour, as an obstacle to divine contemplation, and to the ascent of the soul towards the Father of spirits. In all their excursions they were followed by women, called *Sisters*, with whom they lived in the most intimate familiarity [*u*]. They distributed, among the people, books which contained the substance of their doctrine; held nocturnal assemblies in places remote from public view; and seduced many from frequenting the ordinary institutions of divine worship.

The mystical doctrines of this sect.

X. These brethren, who gloried in the freedom which they pretended to have obtained, *through the spirit*, from the dominion and obligation of the *law*, adopted a certain rigid and fantastic system of *mystic theology*, built upon pretended philosophical principles, which bore a striking resemblance to the impious doctrines of the

[*t*] Many have written of the *Turlupins*, but none with accuracy and precision. See Beaufobre's *Dissertation sur les Adamites*, part II. p. 384. where that learned author has fallen into several errors, as usually happens to him when he treats subjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word *Turlupin*, but I am able to demonstrate, by the most authentic records, that the persons so called, who were burned at *Paris* and in other parts of *France*, were no other than the *Brethren of the free spirit*, who were condemned by the Roman pontiffs, and also by various councils.

[*u*] Hence they were styled, in *Germany*, *Schwefstriones*, as appears by the decrees of several councils.

Pantheists.

Pantheists. For they held, "That all things
 "flowed by *emanation* from God, and were finally
 "to return to their divine source; that rational
 "souls were so many *portions* of the Supreme
 "Deity, and that the universe, considered as one
 "great whole, was God: that every man, by the
 "power of contemplation, and by calling off his
 "mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might
 "be united to the Deity in an inexplicable manner,
 "and become one with the Source and Parent
 "of all things; and that they, who, by long and
 "assiduous meditation, had plunged themselves,
 "as it were, into the *abyss* of the Divinity, ac-
 "quired a most glorious and sublime liberty,
 "and were not only delivered from the vio-
 "lence of sinful lusts, but even from the com-
 "mon instincts of nature." From these and
 the like doctrines, the *brethren* drew this im-
 pious and horrid conclusion, "That the per-
 "son, who had ascended to God in this man-
 "ner, and was absorbed by contemplation in
 "the abyss of Deity, became thus a part of
 "the Godhead, commenced God, was the *Son*
 "*of God* in the same sense and manner in which
 "Christ was, and was thereby raised to a glo-
 "rious independence, and freed from the obli-
 "gation of all laws human and divine." It was
 in consequence of all this, that they treated with
 contempt the ordinances of the Gospel, and every
 external act of religious worship, looking upon
 prayer, fasting, baptism, and the sacrament of the
 Lord's supper, as the first elements of piety
 adapted to the state and capacity of children,
 and as of no sort of use to the *perfect man*, whom
 long meditation had raised above all external
 things, and carried into the bosom and essence
 of the Deity [w].

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XI. Among

[w] It may not be improper to introduce a certain number
 of sentences, translated faithfully from several of the more secret
 books

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Among
these heretics
there
were some
persons of
probity, and
others
licentious.

XI. Among these fanatics there were several persons of eminent probity, who had entered into this sect with the most upright intentions, and who extended that *liberty of the spirit*, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no farther than to an exemption from the duties of external worship, and an immunity from the positive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this class of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmost contempt the rules of monastic discipline, and all other external rites and institutions, as infinitely beneath books of these heretics. The following will be sufficient to give the curious reader a full idea of their impiety.

‘Every pious and good man is the only begotten Son of God, whom God engendered from all eternity: (for these heretics maintained, that what the scriptures taught concerning the distinction of *Three Persons* in the divine nature, is by no means to be understood literally, and therefore explained it according to the principles of their mythical and fantastic system.)

‘All created things are non-entities, or nothing: I do not say that they are small or minute, but that they are absolutely nothing.

‘There is in the soul of man something that is neither created, nor susceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of reasoning.

‘God is neither good, nor better, nor best: whosoever therefore calls the Deity good, speaks as foolishly as he who calls an object black, which he knows to be white.

‘God still engenders his only begotten son, and begets still the same son, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his son without any division.

‘What the scriptures say concerning Christ is true of every good, of every divine man: and every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every person whose piety is genuine and sincere.’

To these horrid passages we may add the following sentences, in which John bishop of *Strasbourg* (in an edict he published against the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, or *Beghards*, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary) discovers farther the blasphemous doctrine of this impious sect. ‘Deus (say these Heretics) est formaliter omne quod est. Quilibet homo perfectus est Christus per naturam. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesiæ data a Deo. Multa sunt poetica in evangelio, quæ non sunt vera; et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo juncta profectis, quam evangelio,’ &c.

the

the attention of the *perfect*. Nor were their exhortations and examples without effect; for, about the middle of this century, they persuaded a considerable number of monks and devout persons in Suabia, “to live without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the spirit, which was the most acceptable service that could be presented to the Deity [*x*].” The inquisitors, however, stopped these poor enthusiasts in the midst of their career, and committed several of them to the flames, in which they expired, not only with the most unclouded serenity, but even with the most triumphant feelings of cheerfulness and joy.

But we find among these *Brethren of the free spirit* another class of fanatics very different from these now mentioned, and much more extravagant, whose system of religion was as dangerous, as it was ridiculous and absurd, since it opened a door to the most licentious manners. These wretched enthusiasts maintained, that by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature out of the *heaven-born* mind, and to introduce into the soul a certain divine stupor, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteristics of Christian perfection. The persons who adopted these sentiments took strange liberties in consequence of their pretended sanctity, and shewed, indeed, by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their secret assemblies in a state of nudity, and lay in the same beds with their spiritual sisters, or, indiscriminately, with other women, without the smallest scruple or hesitation. This shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty

[*x*] See Mart. Crusius, *Annal. Suevicorum*; part III. lib. ii. cap. xiv. *ad A.* 1261, p. 99. edit. *Vet.*—This author has taken his materials from *Felix Faber*, an impartial writer.

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as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a soul that was still under the dominion of the sensual, animal, and lascivious spirit, and that was not, as yet, re-united to the divine nature, its centre and source. And they considered, as at a fatal distance from the Deity, all such as either felt the carnal suggestions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of persons of a different sex, or were incapable of vanquishing and suppressing the rising fervour of lust and intemperance [y].

There were, moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthusiasts, who far surpassed in impiety the two classes we have been now mentioning, who abused the system and doctrines of the sect, so as to draw from them an apology for all kinds

[y] Certain writers, whose principal zeal is employed in the defence of these heretics, and who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the communion of the church of *Rome*, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely these impious doctrines to the *Brethren of the free spirit*, with a view to blacken these pious men, and to render them odious. But this suspicion is entirely groundless; and the account of this matter, which we have given in the text, is conformable to the strictest truth. The inquisitors have been less fabulous in their accusations of these heretics, than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the *Beghards*, though destitute of shame, were not in general chargeable with a breach of the duties of chastity and abstinence. They were indeed of opinion, that the firmness of mind, and insensibility of heart, which rendered them proof against female charms and deaf to the voice of nature, were privileges granted to them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honest Nieder, (*Formicar.* lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346.) and affirmed that it was in the power of that evil spirit to render men cold, and to extinguish the warm and lascivious solicitations of nature; and that Satan wrought this miracle upon his friends and adherents, in order to procure them a high reputation of sanctity, and make them appear superior in virtue to the rest of mankind. "Credo" (saith Nieder, who was both a Dominican and an inquisitor) "quosdam ex eis dæmonis opera affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ . . . Facillimum enim est "dæmonibus infrigidare."

of wickedness, and who audaciously maintained, that the *divine man*, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, *could not sin*, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not, indeed, explained in the same manner by all the *Brethren of the free spirit* that were so outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the soul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature: others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propensities and passions that arose in the soul of the *divine man* after his union with the Deity, were the propensities and affections of God himself, and were therefore, notwithstanding their apparent deformity and opposition to the law, holy and good, since the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation [z]. It is necessary to observe before we leave this

[z] This account will be confirmed by the following passage faithfully translated from the famous book of the *Nine Rocks*, written originally in German; "Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders: for in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is also the father of the eternal word. Neither could God produce any thing without this divine man, who is therefore obliged to render his will conformable to the will of God, that whatever may be agreeable to the Deity, may be agreeable to him also. If therefore it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is well and truly united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not to wish that he had not committed them: he should even be ready to die a thousand deaths rather than omit one of these mortal sins." Hence arose the accusation brought by the inquisitors against this impious sect, whom they reproach with maintaining that the "sin of a man united to God, is not sin, since God works in him and with him whatever he does." Henry Suso, a Dominican monk, and one of the most celebrated Mystic writers, composed, in the following century, another *Book concerning the Nine Rocks*, which is to be found in the edition of his works published by Laurence Surius.

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this subject, that flagitious and impious impostors mingled themselves sometimes with this sect, and took the name of *Beghards*, that by a feigned piety they might impose upon the multitude, and deceive the simple into their snares [a].

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Surius. But this book is entirely different from that which was in such high esteem among the *Beghards*, though it bears the same title. The latter is of much older date, and was in vogue in *Germany*, among the *Brethren of the free spirit*, long before *Suso* was born. There fell some time ago into my hands an ancient manuscript, composed in *Alsace*, during the fifteenth century, and containing an account of various *Revelations and Visions of that age*. In this manuscript I found a piece entitled, *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam super Revelatione Carthusiano cui-dam de Ecclesie per gladium reformatione, Leodii in anno 1453 facta*; and, almost in the beginning of this declaration, I met with the following passage relating to the *Book of the Nine Rocks*: “*Homo quidam devotissimus, licet laicus, librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesie renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione.*” These *Nine Rocks* signified, according to the fanatical doctrine of this wrong-headed sect, the different steps by which the divine man ascended to the Deity.

[a] The founder of this famous sect, the place of its origin, and the time of its first appearance, are not known with certainty. I have actually in my possession eighty-nine Sentences of the *Beghards*, vulgarly called *Schwelltriones*, but who style themselves *Brethren of the sect of the Free Spirit and of voluntary Poverty*, with a refutation of the said sentences, written at *Worms* towards the conclusion of this century by one of the inquisitors. The 79th sentence runs thus: “*To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere.*” From these words it appears evident, that *Rhetia* was the country where the church of the brethren of the free spirit was fixed and established, and that from this province they passed into *Germany*. I am not, however, of opinion, that this sect had its origin in that province; but am rather inclined to think, that *Italy* was its country, and that, being driven thence, it took refuge in *Rhetia*. Nor is it at all improbable, that *Italy*, which saw so many religious factions arise in its bosom, was also the nursing-mother of this blasphemous sect. We shall be almost fully confirmed in this opinion when we consider that, in a long letter from *Clement V.* to *Rainier* bishop of *Cremona* (published by *Odor. Raynaldus, Annal. tom. xv. A. 1311, n. 66. p. 90.*) the zealous pontiff exhorts that prelate to suppress

XII. The famous Amalric, native of *Bene*, and professor of logic and theology at *Paris*, whose bones were dug up and publicly burned in the year 1209, (although he had abjured his errors before his death,) and a considerable number of whose disciples and followers were committed to the flames on account of their absurd and pernicious doctrine, was undoubtedly of the same way of thinking with the sect whose opinions we have been now considering [*b*]. For though the writers of this barbarous age have given very different and confused accounts of this man's opinions, and even attributed some doctrines to him which he never maintained, it is nevertheless certain, that he taught, that all things were the parts of one substance, or, in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the forms of all things, but also their matter or substance, proceed from the Deity, and must return to the source from which they were derived [*c*].

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From suppress and extirpate, with all his power, the sect of the Brethren of the free spirit, who were settled in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the province of Spoleto and the countries adjacent. Such are the terms of the pontiff's letter; "in nonnullis Italiæ partibus, tam Spoletanæ provincię, quam circumjacentium regionum."

[*b*] This did not escape the notice of the enemies of the Beghards or Brethren of the free spirit, in Germany, much less that of the Inquisitors, who, in their *Refutation of the 89 Sentences of the Beghards* mentioned in the preceding note, express themselves thus (sent. 68): "Dicere quod omnis creatura est Deus, hæresis Alexandri * est, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et hominem, hoc est mentes, esse in substantia, quod postea quidam David de Dinanto sequutus est, qui temporibus nostris de hac hæresi de Francia fugatus est, et punitus fuisset, si deprehensus fuisset."

[*c*] The account given by Fleury, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, of the opinions of Amalric, is very different from that which is here given by Dr. Mosheim. The former observes, that Amalric, or Amauri, taught that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and that

* The person here mentioned is Alexander, the Epicurean, of whom Petauch speaks in his Symposium.

without

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From these absurd and blasphemous principles he deduced that chimerical system of fanatical devotion, which we have already exposed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless. The disciples of this enthusiast were men of exemplary piety, were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy. David of Dinant, a Parisian doctor, was one of the most eminent among these; and he usually expressed the fundamental principle of his master in the following proposition; "God is the primary matter or substance of all things." He composed a work entitled *Quaternarii*, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude; but he was at length obliged to save himself by flight [d]. The bishops, assembled in

*without this belief none could be saved; and he observes also, that his disciples introduced errors still more pernicious, such as the following: "That the power of the Father had continued only during the Mosaic dispensation, that of the Son 1200 years after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth century, the age of the Holy Spirit commenced, in which the sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished; that there would be no resurrection: that heaven and hell were mere fictions;" and many more sentiments of that nature, which, as the learned Spanheim imagines, were falsely imputed to Amalric, in order to render his memory odious, because he had opposed the worship of saints and images. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. sect. lix.—Dr. Mosheim looks upon Amalric to have been a Pantheist; and many men of eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others, Joh. Gerson apud Jac. Thomassum, and also Brucker's *Hist. Phil. soph.* tom. iii. p. 688.*

[d] See Martenne's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 163. where there is an account of the heresies, for which several priests were burned at Paris in the year 1209.—Natal. Alexander, *Hist.*

Etol.

in council at *Paris* in the year 1209, considered the philosophy of Aristotle as the source of all these impious doctrines, and, on that account, prohibited all persons from reading, or explaining, either in public or private, the metaphysical and other productions of the Grecian sage [2].

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XIII. If we may depend upon the accounts given by certain writers, Amalric and his followers received with the utmost docility and faith the predictions, attributed to Joachim, abbot of *Flora*, concerning the reformation that was soon to be brought about in the church by the power of the sword; the approaching *Age of the Holy Ghost*, that was to succeed those of the Father and the Son, and other things of that nature, which raised the hopes and occupied the thoughts of the *Spiritual* Franciscans. Whether these accounts may be depended upon or not, we shall not determine. To us they appear extremely doubtful. It is, however, true, that certain persons were so far deluded by these pretended prophecies, as to form new sects with a view to their accomplishment, and to declare war against the established church, its system of doctrine, and its forms of worship. Among other fanatical sectaries, there arose one of a most extraordinary kind; a Bohemian woman, named *Wilhelmina*, who resided in the territory of *Milan*. This delirious and wrong-headed woman, having studied with attention the predictions concerning the *Age of the Holy Ghost*, was so extravagant as to persuade herself, and, what is still more amazing, had sufficient influence to persuade others, that the Holy Ghost

Joachim.
Wilhelmina.

Ecel. Sac. xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76.—Du Bois, *Historia Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 244.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 28. 58.—Jac. Thomaeus, *de Exultatione Mundi Stoica*,

de curia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Paris.

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had become *incarnate* in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, "None were saved by the blood of Jesus, but true and pious Christians; while the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians, were to obtain salvation through the Holy Spirit which dwelt in her; and, in consequence thereof, all that had happened to Christ, during his appearance upon earth in the human nature, was to be exactly renewed in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost, which was united to her." This mad woman died at *Milan* in the year 1281, in the most fragrant odour of sanctity; and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multitude, but was also honoured with religious worship both in public and in private. Her sect was at length discovered by the curious eye of persecution in the year 1300, and fell under the cognisance of the inquisitors, who destroyed the magnificent monument that had been erected to her honour, ordered her bones to be committed to the flames, and in the same fire consumed the leaders of this wretched faction, among whom were persons of both sexes [f].

The sect
called Apostles.

XIV. It was upon predictions similar to those mentioned in the preceding section, that the *sect of the apostles* founded its discipline. The members of this sect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal part of the public religion; what

[f] The Milanese historians, such as Bernardinus Corius, and others, have related the adventures of this odd woman; but their accounts are very different from those given by the learned Muratori, in his *Antiq. Italice medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 91. and which he has drawn from the judicial proceedings of the court, where the extraordinary case of this female fanatic was examined. We are informed by the same excellent author, that a learned writer, named Puricelli, composed a history of Wilhelmina, and of her sect.

they

they principally aimed at, was, to introduce among Christians the simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially the manner of life that was observed by the apostles. Gerard Sagarelli, the founder of this sect, obliged his followers to go from place to place as the apostles did, to wander about clothed in white, with long beards, disheveled hair, and bare heads, accompanied with women whom they called their *Sisters*. They were also obliged to renounce all kinds of property and possessions, and to preach in public the necessity of repentance, while in their more private assemblies they declared the approaching destruction of the corrupt church of *Rome*, and the establishment of a purer service, and a more glorious church, which, according to the prophecies of the abbot Joachim, would certainly arise from its ruins. No sooner was the ill-fated leader of this faction committed to the flames [g], than he was succeeded in that character by a bold and enterprising fanatic, named Dulcinus, a native of *Novara*, who published his predictions with more courage, and maintained them with more zeal, than his predecessor had done, and who did not hesitate to declare that, in a short time, pope Boniface VIII., the corrupt priests, and the licentious monks, were to perish by the hand of the emperor Frederic III. son of Peter, king of *Arragon*, and that a new and most holy pontiff was to be raised to the head of the church. These visionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of Joachim, who is said to have declared, among other things, that an emperor called Frederic III. was to bring to perfection what Frederic II. had left unfinished. Be that as it may, Dulcinus appeared with intrepid assurance at the head of the *apostles*; and

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[g] This unhappy man was burned alive at *Parma*, in the year 1300.

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acting, not only in the character of a prophet, but also in that of a general, he assembled an army to maintain his cause, and perhaps to accomplish, at least in part, his predictions. He was opposed by Raynerius, bishop of *Vercelli*, who defended the interests of the Roman pontiff, and carried on, above two years, a most sanguinary and dreadful war against this chief of the apostles. The issue of this contest was fatal to the latter, who, after several battles fought with obstinate courage, was at length taken prisoner, and put to death at *Vercelli* in the most barbarous manner, in the year 1307, together with *Margaret*, whom he had chosen for his *spiritual sister*, according to the custom of his sect. The terrible end of Dulcinus was not immediately followed by the extinction of his sect, which still subsisted in *France*, *Germany*, and other countries, and stood firm against the most vehement efforts of its enemies, until the beginning of the XVth century, when, under the pontificate of Boniface IX., it was totally extirpated [*b*].

A true account of the heresy that was imputed to Joachim.

XV. This famous Joachim, abbot of *Flora*, whose fanatical predictions turned the heads of so many well-meaning people, and excited them to

[*b*] I composed in the German language an accurate history in three books, of this famous sect, which is very little known in our times; and I have in my hands materials, that will furnish an interesting addition to that history. That this sect subsisted in *Germany*, and in some other countries, until the pontificate of Boniface IX. is evident from the *Chronicle* of Herman Cornerus, published by Jo. George Echard, in his *Corpus Historicum medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. and may be sufficiently demonstrated by other authentic testimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apostolical sect, whose name was William, or Wilhelmus, was burned alive at *Lubeck*. See Cornerus, *loc. cit.* p. 1185. The Germans, who were accustomed to distinguish by the name of *Beghards* all those who pretended to extraordinary piety, and sought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for sanctity and virtue, gave this title also to the sect of it.

attempt reforming the church by the sword, and to declare open war against the Roman pontiffs, did not fall under the suspicion of heresy on account of these predictions, but in consequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly Peter Lombard, the master of the sentences, on account of the distinction this latter writer had made between the *Divine Essence*, and the *three Persons* in the Godhead; for Joachim looked upon this doctrine as introducing a *fourth* object, even an *essence*, into the Trinity. But the good man was too little versed in metaphysical matters, to carry on a controversy of such a subtle nature; and he was betrayed by his ignorance so far as to advance inconsiderately the most rash and most exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was any thing, or any *essence*, that belonged in common to the three Persons in the Trinity, or was jointly possessed by them; by which doctrine the *substantial* union, among the three Persons, was taken away, and the union of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was reduced from a *natural*, *simple*, and *numerical* unity, to a *moral* one only; that is, to such an unity as reigns in the counsels and opinions of different persons, who embrace the same notions, and think and act with one accord. This explication of the Trinity was looked upon by many as very little different from the Arian system; and therefore pope Innocent III. pronounced, in the year 1215, in the Lateran council, a damnable sentence against the doctrine of Joachim; not extending, however, to the person or fame of the abbot himself. Notwithstanding this papal sentence, Joachim has at this day a considerable number of adherents and defenders, more especially among those Franciscans who are called *Observants*. Some of these

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[1] See Dan. Papebrochius, *Disquis. Histor. de Florenſi Ordine, Prophetiis, Doctrina, B. Joachimi*, in *Actis Sanctorum, Maii*, tom. vi. p. 486. which contains the *Life of Joachim*, written by Syllanæus, and several other pieces of consequence. See also Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sec. xiii. Dis. ii.* p. 331.—Luc. Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 6.

T H E
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

P A R T I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P. I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

SEVERAL attempts were made by the princes of the west, at the instigation of the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in *Palestine* against the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of *Syria* from the oppressive yoke of these despotic infidels. The succession of pontiffs that resided in *Avignon*, evinced the greatest zeal for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion unemployed, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of *England* and *France* in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and, notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour in the years 1307 and 1308, and set apart a very large sum of money for prosecuting it with

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Fruitless attempts to renew the crusades.

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alacrity and vigour [a]. John XXII. ordered ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into *Palestine* [b], and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of *indulgences*, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprise. These *indulgences* he offered to such as contributed generously to the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the *European* countries that were subject to his spiritual jurisdiction. But, under this fair shew of piety and zeal, John is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find Louis of *Bavaria*, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition [c]; and indeed the character of this pope was of such a stamp as tended to accredit such complaints. Under the pontificate of Benedict XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois, king of *France*, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in *Palestine* [d]; but when he was ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from *England* obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprise. In the year 1345, Clement VI. at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for *Smyrna*, where they composed a numerous army under the command

[a] Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 15. 594. tom. ii. p. 55. 374. 391, &c. Ant. Matthæi *Analeſta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

[b] Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125. tom. ii. p. 515.

[c] Baluzius, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 175. 786. Matthæi *Analeſta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

[d] Baluzius, tom. i. p. 299.

of Guido, or Guy, dauphin of *Vienne*; but the want of provisions soon obliged this army to return with the general into *Europe* [*e*]. This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban V. and was to be employed in a new expedition against the infidels, with John, king of *France*, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standard [*f*].

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II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into *China*, *Tartary*, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches among those unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, Clement V. erected *Cambalu*, (which at that time was the celebrated metropolis of *Cathay*, and is, undoubtedly, the same with *Pekin*, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire) into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon John de Monte Corvino, an Italian friar who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after, to assist this prelate in his pious labours, seven other prelates of the Franciscan order [*g*]. John XXII.

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Christianity
in China
and Tartary.

[*e*] *Fragmenta Hist. Romane*, in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

[*f*] Baluzii *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401.

[*g*] Wadding, *Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. *ad A.* 1305. sect. xii. p. 69. *ad A.* 1307, p. 91. 368. tom. vii. p. 53. 221. tom. viii. p. 235.—J. S. Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. sect. ii. p. 521.—J. Echard, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 537.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Januarii*, p. 984.—Mosheim, *Historia Eccles. Tartar.*

exerted

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exercited in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished the pontificate of his predecessors. Upon the death of John de Monte Corvino, in the year 1333, he sent Nicolas of *Bentra* to fill the vacant archbishopric of *Cambalu*, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time, was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the year 1338, Benedict XII. sent new legates and missionaries into *Tartary* and *China*, in consequence of a solemn embassy [*b*] with which he was honoured at *Avignon* from the khan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themselves in the empire of *China*, the Christian religion flourished in those vast regions; and both Latins and Nestorians not only made a public profession of their faith, but also propagated it, without any apprehension of danger, through the northern provinces of *Asia*.

Conversion
of the Li-
thuanians.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince unconverted to Christianity, if we except Jagellon, duke of *Lithuania*, who continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of Ladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied, at least, with views of policy, interest, and ambition. Upon the death of Louis, king of *Poland*, which happened in the year 1382, Jagellon was named among the competitors who aspired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his

[*b*] Baluzii *Vitæ Pontificum Avenionensium*, tom. i. p. 242.
pretensions

pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan; and hence Jagellon was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty [i]. On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword all the remains of Paganism that were to be found in *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

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We find also in the annals of this century many instances of Jews converted to the Christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *France* and *Germany*, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their intractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel. The reports [k] (whether false or true, we shall not determine), that had been industriously spread abroad, of their poisoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their

Many of
the Jews
became
Christians
through
compulsion.

[i] Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles. ad A.* 1386. sect. iv. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 71.—Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tome iii. p. 241.

[k] It seems more than probable that these reports were insidiously forged out of animosity against the Jews, who had long been the peculiar objects of general odium. This will appear still more evidently to have been the case, when we consider that the popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. published, in the thirteenth century, declarations calculated to destroy the effect of several calumnies which had been invented and dispersed to the disadvantage of the Jews; and, in the fourteenth century, we find Benedict XII. and Clement VI. giving similar proofs of their equity towards an injured people. We find, in history, circular letters of the dukes of Milan and Venice, and imperial edicts of Frederic III. and Charles V. to the same purpose; and all these circumstances materially detract from the credibility of the reports mentioned by Dr. Mosheim,

blood,

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A scheme
laid for the
expulsion of
the Saracens
out of
Spain.

blood, of their profaning, in the most impious and blasphemous manner, the consecrated wafers that were used in the celebration of the eucharist, with other accusations equally enormous, excited every where the resentment of the magistrates and the fury of the people, and brought the most terrible sufferings, that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon that wretched and devoted nation.

IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a considerable footing in *Spain*. The kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*, with the province of *Andalusia*, were subject to their dominion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of *Morocco*, became their auxiliaries against the Christians. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unemployed to excite the Christians to unite their forces against the Moslems, and to drive them out of the Spanish territories; presents, exhortations, promises, in short, all allurements that religion, superstition, or avarice, could render powerful, were rendered subservient to the execution of this arduous project. The Christians, accordingly, united their counsels and efforts for this end; and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprize rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their affairs wore a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that they should one day triumph over their enemies, and become sole possessors of the Spanish dominions [1].

[1] See J. de Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tome iv. v. vi. — *Fragmenta Hæc. Romanæ*, in *Muratorii Antiq. Ital. mediævi*, tom. iii. p. 319. in which, however, there is a considerable mixture of falsehood with truth.—Baluzii *Miscell.* tom. ii. p. 267.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

LTHE Turks and Tartars, who extended their dominions in *Asia* with an amazing rapidity, and directed their arms against the Greeks, as well as against the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went the fruits that had sprung up in such a rich abundance from the labours of the Christian missionaries, extirpated the religion of Jesus in several provinces and cities where it flourished, and substituted the impostures of Mohammed in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated the exercise of that divine religion; but, from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face; and that fierce nation renounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Koran. Even Timur Bec, commonly called Tamerlane, their mighty emperor, embraced the doctrine of Mohammed, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general [m]. This formidable warrior, after having subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, having triumphed over Bajazet the emperor of the Turks, and even filled *Europe* with terror at the

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PART I.

The Christian religion loses ground in Asia.

[m] This great Tamerlane, whose name seemed to strike terror even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the *Sonnites*, and professed the greatest enmity against their adversaries the *Schittes*. See Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tome ii. p. 151. tome iii. p. 228. It is, however, extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of Tamerlane, though he professed the Mohammedan faith. See Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles. Tartaror.* p. 124.

approach

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approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulsive power of violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of Christ with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded, as we learn from the most credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of Mohammed to persecute the Christians, and that the most ample and glorious rewards were reserved for such as were most instrumental in converting them to the religion of that supposed prophet [n], he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the magnanimous constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery [o].

The decline
of Christi-
anity in
China and
in Tartary.

II. In those parts of *Asia*, which are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations still less known, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries, later than the year 1370; nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries sent thither from *Rome*. We have, indeed, some records, from which it would appear that there were Nestorians residing in *China* so far down as the sixteenth cen-

[n] Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tome ii. p. 329. tome iii. p. 137. 243, &c.

[o] Many instances of this we find in the *History of Timur-Bec*, written by a Persian named Sherefeddin; published at *Delft*, in four volumes, 8vo. in the year 1723.—See also Herbelot, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article *Timur*, p. 877. [The work of Sherefeddin is the same with that of M. de la Croix, who only professed himself, in this instance, a translator.]
CONTIN.

tury [*p*]; but these records are not so clear as to remove all doubt. However that may be, the abolition of Christianity in those remote parts of the world, may, without hesitation, be imputed to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of Genghiz-Khan was driven out of *China*, and his throne filled by the *Mim* family, who, by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering that country.

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[*p*] Nicol. Trigautius, *de Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116.—Jof. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 592. & part II. p. 445. 536.—Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tome i. p. 175.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

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PART II.

The state
of letters
among the
Greeks.

I. **T**HE Greeks, though dejected by the foreign and intestine calamities in which they were involved, were far from withdrawing their attention and zeal from the cause of literature, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period. In this honourable class we may reckon Nicephorus Gregoras, Manuel Chrysoloras, Maximus Planudes, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the study of history and antiquities, and the belles lettres, acquired considerable reputation. Omitting the mention of writers of inferior note, we may observe, that Theodorus Metochita, John Cantacuzenus, and Nicephorus Gregoras, applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence Nicephorus Callistus, who compiled an ecclesiastical history, which, notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of its illustration of many important facts.

The state
of philo-
sophy a-
mong the
Greeks.

II. As none of the sages of this century had the presumption to set up for a leader in philosophy, such of the Greeks as had a taste for philosophical researches adhered to Aristotle, as their conductor and guide; but we may learn

from the tracts of Theodorus Metochita in what manner they explained the principles and tenets of the Stagirite. Plato also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks. In the sublime sciences of mathematics and astronomy, Nicolas Cabasilas surpassed all his contemporaries. Balaam adopted the sentiments and precepts of the Stoics with respect to the obligations of morality and the duties of life, and digested them into a work which is known by the title of *Ethica ex Stoicis* [9].

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III. In all the Latin provinces, schemes were carried into execution with considerable success, for promoting the study of letters, improving taste, and dispelling the pedantic spirit of the times. This laudable disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and academies, at *Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa*, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular *colleges*, in the public universities, in which, besides the *monks*, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the advantages arising to the church and state, from so many professors and learned men, did not wholly answer the expence and care bestowed on this undertaking by men of rank and fortune: yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly done, that all the doctors of this age, who rose

The state of
learning
among the
Latins.

[9] *Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405.

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PART II.

The state of
languages.

gradually from the lower to the higher and more honourable stations, were only distinguished by their stupidity and ignorance.

IV. Clement V. who was now raised to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew and other Oriental languages to be taught in the public schools, that the church might never want a sufficient number of missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the Jews and Mohammedans, and to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the east [*r*]: in consequence of which appointment, some eminent proficients in these tongues, and especially in the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon Homer, and a few others [*s*], but afterwards with far greater success, and reputation, by Manuel Chrysoloras [*t*], a native of *Constantinople*. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly-renowned Petrarch held the first place [*u*],

[*r*] See Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156. 159.

[*s*] See Humph. Hody, *de Græcis illustribus, Lingue Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. *Londini*, 1742. in 8vo. — Calogera, *Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 258.

[*t*] Hody, *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10. — Calogera, *loc. cit.* p. 348. And more especially Christ. Fred. Borner's *Lib. de Græcæ Literarum Græcarum in Italia Instauratoribus*.

[*u*] See Jac. Phil. Thomadini *vita Petrarce* in Jo. Gv. Meuschen *Vite claror. viror.* tom. iv. who, in his perfect merates all the other writers his life. Of the poet Dante, several have Benevenuto of Imola, & ed large extracts in h p. 1036. s.

and Dante Alighieri the second. Full of this worthy design, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote the reign of true taste and the progress of polite learning; and their success was answerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

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V. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers, and physicians, of whom it would be easy to speak more particularly; but, as such a detail is unnecessary, it will be sufficient to inform our readers, that there were but few of this multitude, whose labours were strikingly useful to society. Great numbers applied themselves to the study of the *civil* and *canon* law, because it was the readiest way to preferment both in church and state. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with history, cannot be entirely strangers to the fame of Bartolus, Baldus, Andreas, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities of *Italy*. But, after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or style, and destitute of every allurement that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except doctor Thomas Bradwardine, the acute and learned archbishop of *Canterbury*, there were few who acquired any great degree of reputation by this kind of study.

Of the other sciences.

VI. The vast number of philosophers, who rather disgraced than adorned this century, looked upon Aristotle as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stripped him of all those excellencies that really belonged to him, and were

Of philosophy.

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PART II.

incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philosophy, that, in order to diffuse the knowledge of it as widely as possible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the native language of their respective dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was Charles V. king of *France*, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of Aristotle, to be translated into French by Nicholas Oresme [*w*]. Those, however, who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties, trifling questions, and ridiculous distinctions. It is needless to enlarge either on the barbarity of their phraseology, in which they supposed the chief strength of their art consisted, or on that utter aversion to every branch of polite learning, in which they foolishly gloried. Those who wish to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult John Scotus, or Walter Burlæus. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

The Realists
and Nomi-
nalists.

VII. The old disputes between the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived, with an ardour seemingly extinguishable, by an English Franciscan of the severe order, named William Occam, who was a follower of the great Scotus, and a doctor of divi-

[*w*] Launoy, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. op. part I. p. 504.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 270.
Le Boeuf, *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile de Par.* p. 456. 463.

nity at *Paris*. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury, than these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of Luther, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to terminate their mutual wranglings, and to listen to terms of accommodation. The *Realists* despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, branding them with the name of *Moderns*, while, through a great mistake, they ascribed a very high antiquity to the tenets of their own party. The *Nominalists*, on the other hand, inveighed against them as a set of doting visionaries, who, despising substantial matters, were pursuing mere shadows. The *Nominalists* had the most eloquent, acute, and subtle doctors of *Paris* for their leaders, among whom, besides Occam, the famous John Buridan [x] was very eminent; nevertheless, through the countenance given them by successive popes, the *Realists* prevailed. For when Occam had joined the party of the Franciscan monks, who strenuously opposed John XXII., that pope himself, and his successors, left no means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interests of the church [y]; and hence it was, that, in the year 1339, the university of *Paris*, by a public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited the philosophy of Occam, which was that of the *Nominalists* [z]. But, as it is natural for

[x] Rob. Gaguinus wrote a particular account of this famous man, as we learn from Launoy, in his *Historia Gymnasii Navarrensi*, tom. iv. op. part I. p. 722. see also Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 282. 307. 341, &c.

[y] Steph. Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

[z] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 257. tom. v. p. 708.—Car. Pless. d'Argentre, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, &c.

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PART II.

Astrology
mingles it-
self with the
philosophy of
the times,
and is con-
sidered as
magic.

men to love and pursue what is forbidden, the consequence was, that the party of the *Nominalists* flourished more than ever.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times, there were many who with their philosophy mingled *astrology*, *i. e.* the art of telling fortunes by the aspect of the heavens and the influence of the stars; and, notwithstanding the obvious folly and absurdity of this pretended science, both the higher and lower ranks were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to Ceccus Asculanus, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, who first acted as physician to pope John XXII. and afterwards to Charles Sineterra, duke of *Calabria*. This unfortunate man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having also offended many, and among the rest his master, by giving out some predictions, which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and was committed to the flames, in 1327, by the inquisitors of *Florence* [a]. There is yet extant his commentary upon the *Sphere of John de Sacrobosco*, otherwise named *Holywood*, which shews him to have been deeply tainted with superstition [b].

[a] Paul Ant. Appianus wrote a defence of this unhappy man, which is inserted in Domen. Bernini *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, tom. iii. sect. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210. We have also a further account of him in Giov. Maria Crescimbeni, *Commentari della volgar. Poesia*, vol. ii. part II. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

[b] Gabr. N
ant été soupçon

IX. Raymond Lully was the author of a new and singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of *Majorca*, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; but was, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having performed many voyages, and undergone various hardships to promote it, he was slain at *Bugia*, in *Africa*, in the year 1315, by the Mohammedans whom he was attempting to convert. The Franciscans, to whose third order it is said he belonged, extol him to the skies, and have taken great pains to persuade several popes to canonize him: while many, on the contrary, and especially the Dominicans, inveigh bitterly against him, calling him a wild and visionary chemist, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler from the works of the more learned Moslems. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of Lully without prejudice, will not be biassed by either of these parties. It is at least certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and fertility of his imagination been tempered with a sound judgment [c].

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PART II.
The philosophy of Lully

[c] See John Salzinger's Preface to Raymond Lully's works, which John William, elector *Palatine*, caused to be collected at a great expence, and to be published, in 1720, in five folio volumes. Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421. tom. v. p. 157. 316. tom. vi. p. 229. Concerning the famous invention of Lully, see the *Polyhistor* of Dan. George Morhoff, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352.

C H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and government of the Church
during this century.*

C E N T.
XIV.

P A R T II.

The corrupt
state of the
Clergy.

I. **T**HE governors of the church in this period, from the highest to the lowest orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their sacred character. We shall say nothing of the Grecian and Oriental clergy, who lived, for the most part, under a rigid, severe, and oppressive government, though they deserve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But, with regard to the Latins, our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and the well-being of civil society. It is, however, necessary to observe, that there were, even in these degenerate times, some pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in *its head and members*, as they used to express themselves [*d*]. To prevent the accomplishment of these laudable desires, many circumstances concurred; such as the exorbitant power of the popes, so confirmed by length of time that it seemed immoveable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth was stifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and

[*d*] Matt. Flacius, *Catalog. testium veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. Jo. Launojus, *de varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. Jo. Henr. Hottinger, *Historia Eccles. Sac.* xiv. p. 754.

weakened,

weakened, partly by the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by unexpected events.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which arose between Boniface VIII. who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, king of *France*. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced *Europe*, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of *Rome*, although many crowned heads had attempted it without success. Boniface sent Philip the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the king of *France*, and all other kings and princes, were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous *bull* (*unam sanctam*) which he published about this time, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power to his church, or, in other words, *the spiritual and temporal sword*; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that all who dared to dispute it, were to be deemed heretics, and excluded from all possibility of salvation [e]. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer [f],

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Philip, king
of France,
opposes the
papal ty-
ranny.

to

[e] This *bull* is yet extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. lib. i. tit. de majoritate et obedientia.*

[f] Of this distinguished man, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before Luther, no writers

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to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with *heresy, simony, and other vices and crimes*, demanding, at the same time, the convocation of an œcumenical council, for the speedy deposition of such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication in that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

The event of
this warm
contest.

III. Philip, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appeal to a general council. After this, he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into *Italy*, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to *Lyon*, where the king was determined to hold the above-mentioned council. Nogaret, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful Colonna family, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized Boniface (who lived in apparent security at *Anagni*), and treated him in the most shocking manner, carrying his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of *Anagni* rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and implacable enemy, and conducted him to *Rome*, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him [g].

IV. Bene-

writers have given us a more copious account than the Benedictine monks, *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tome iii. p. 114. 117. Philip made him chancellor of *France* for his resolute opposition to the pope.

[g] See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Bened. XI. Clement V. et Philippum Pulchrum*, published A. D. 1614, by Peter Puteanus.—Adr. Baillet, *Hist. des Demelez du Pape Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*, printed at *Paris* in 1718.—
Jo.

IV. Benedict XI. who succeeded him, and whose name, before his accession to the papal chair, was Nicolas Boccacini, learned prudence by this fatal example, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that his predecessor had thundered out against the king of France and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve Nogaret of his treason against the spiritual majesty of the pontificate. Nogaret, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against Boniface; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. During these transactions, Benedict died, A. D. 1304; upon which Philip, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of Rome for Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June, 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, as the breach between the king and the court of Rome was not yet entirely healed, and (Nogaret not being absolved) might easily be renewed. Besides, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of Boniface by the court of Rome, the abolition of the order of *Templars*, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff, in whose zeal and compliance he could

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The papal
residence
removed to
Avignon.

Jo. Rubens, in *Bonifacio*, cap. xvi. p. 137. — The other writers on this subject are mentioned by Baillet, in his Preface, p. 9. — See also Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 4.

confide,

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The dimi-
nution of
the papal
authority.

confide, as necessary to the execution of his signs. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement, and, at the king's request, remained in France, removed the papal residence to Avignon, where continued during the space of seventy years. period, the Italians call, by way of derision, Babylonish captivity [*b*].

V. There is no doubt, that the continued dence of the popes in *France* greatly impaired the authority of the Roman see. For, during absence of the pontiffs from *Rome*, the faction the *Ghibellines*, their inveterate enemies, rose greater height than ever; and they not only vaded and ravaged St. Peter's patrimony, even attacked the papal authority by their ings. This caused many cities to revolt from popes: even *Rome* itself was the grand focus and fomentor of cabals, tumults, and civil war inasmuch, that the laws and decrees sent thence from *France* were publicly treated with contempt by the populace, as well as by the nobles. The influence of this example was propagated from *Italy* through most parts of *Europe* being evident, from a vast number of instances that the Europeans in general were far from paying so much regard to the decrees and thunder

[*b*] For an account of the French popes, consult *cl Vita Pontif. Avenionensium*, published at *Paris*, by Baluze two volumes 4to. in the year 1693. The reader may allow, but it must be with the utmost caution, Longue *History of the Gallican Church*, and the continuation of work.—See more especially tom. xii. This Jesuit, and successors, have shown great industry and eloquence in composition of this history; but they, for the most part, fully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman pontiff

[*i*] See Baluze, *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290. 301. 323, and many other places.—Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. p. 397. 409, &c.—Giannone, *Historia di Napoli*, tom.

the Gallic popes, as they did to those of Rome. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the *inquisitors*, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

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VI. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose, they not only sold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themselves extremely odious to several potentates, but also disposed publicly of scandalous licences, of all sorts, at an excessive price. John XXII. was remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for, though he was not the first inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apostolical chancery*, the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable to the holy treasury [k]. It is certain, that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes under the name of *Annates*, a tax which is generally affirmed to have been first imposed by him, is of a much earlier date [l]. Besides the abuses now mentioned, these Gallic popes, having abolished the right of election, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether great or small, according to their fancy, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government

New schemes invented by the popes to acquire riches.

[k] Jo. Ciampinus, *De vice-Cancellario ecclesiæ Rom.* p. 39. — Chais, *Lettres sur les Jubiles*, tome ii. p. 673. and others.

[l] Bern. van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiæ universale*, tom. ii. p. 876. — Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911. — Ant. Wood, *mit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 213. — Guil. Franc. Berthier, *Diff. Annates*, tom. xii. *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic.* p. i.

that

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that *reserves, provisions, expectatives*, and other impositions of the like odious nature, which had seldom (if ever) been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all *Europe* with bitter complaints [*m*]. These complaints exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly John XXII. Clement VI. and Gregory XI. openly declared that they had *reserved* to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and *plentitude of power* which Christ had conferred upon them, his vicars, to *provide* for them, and dispose of them without exception [*n*]. It was by these and other mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate and rapacious pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of Boniface.

The obsequiousness
of Clement
V. to Philip.

VII. Clement V. was a mere creature of Philip the Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. William de Nogaret, the implacable enemy of the late pontiff, although he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against Boniface even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance not easy to be paralleled. Philip insisted, that the dead body

[*m*] Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iii. p. 479. 518. *Ejus Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60. 74. 154. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. i. Append. p. 13. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 411.

[*n*] Baluzii *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285. 311. 681. s. Ant. Matthæi *Anale&a vet. avi.* tom. v. p. 249. s. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. *Histoire du droit Ecclési. François*, tome ii. p. 129.

of

of Boniface should be dug up and publicly burned; but Clement averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by Boniface, to grant the king a bounty of five-years' tithes, fully to absolve Nogaret of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed), to restore the citizens of *Anagni* to their reputation and honour, and to call a general council at *Vienne*, in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whose destruction Philip was most ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper; for Clement, terrified by the melancholy fate of Boniface, durst not venture to oppose this intrepid and obstinate monarch [o].

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VIII. Upon Clement's death, which happened in the year 1314, fierce contentions arose in the conclave about choosing a successor, the French cardinals insisting upon a French, and those of *Italy* demanding an Italian pope. After a contest, which continued two years, the French party prevailed, and, in the year 1316, elected James d'Euse, a native of *Cahors*, and cardinal bishop of *Porto*. He assumed the name of John XXII. and had a tolerable share of learning, but was at the same time crafty, proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous, which is allowed even by those writers who, in other respects, speak well of him. He is deservedly censured on account of his temerity, and the ill success that attended him, through

John XXII.
Nicolas V.

[o] Besides the common writers already cited, see Guil. Fran. Berthier, *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clement V.* tom. xiii. *Hist. Ecclef. Gallic.* Colonia, *Hist. Liter. de Lyon*, tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1189. & tom. ii. p. 829.

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his own imprudence, in many of his enterprises; but he is more especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered against Louis of *Bavaria*. This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne of *Germany* with Frederic, duke of *Austria*; and they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in the year 1314, by their respective partisans among the electors and princes of the empire. John took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his spiritual jurisdiction. But, in the year 1322, the duke of *Bavaria*, having vanquished his competitor by force of arms, assumed the administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow, that the dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. John interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult upon his authority, and, by an edict issued in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But this impotent resentment was very little regarded; and he was even accused of heresy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff presumed, in 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was severely resented by Louis, who, in 1328, published an edict at *Rome*, by which John was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies, Peter de Corbieri, a Franciscan monk, who assumed the name of Nicolas V. and crowned the emperor at *Rome*, in a solemn and public manner. But, in 1330, this *imperial pope* voluntarily abdicated the chair of *St. Peter*,
and

and surrendered himself to John, who kept him in close confinement at *Avignon* for the rest of his life. Thus ended the contest between the duke of *Bavaria* and John XXII. both of whom, notwithstanding their efforts to dethrone each other, continued in the possession of their respective dignities [*p.*].

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IX. The numerous tribes of the *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, and *Spiritual Franciscans*, adhered to the party of Louis. Supported by his patronage, and dispersed through the greatest part of *Europe*, they boldly attacked the reigning pontiff, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heaviest accusations, and the bitterest invectives, both in their writings and in their ordinary conversation. These attacks did not greatly affect the pontiff, as they were made only by private persons, by a set of obscure monks, who, in many respects, were unworthy of his notice; but, towards the conclusion of his life, he incurred the disapprobation and censures of almost the whole Catholic church: for, in 1331,

John
XXII. ac-
cused of he-
resy.

[*p.*] The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learned from the *Records* published by Steph. Baluze in his *Vita Pontif. Avinion.* tom. ii. p. 512.—Edm. Martenne, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641.—Jo. Georg. Herwart, in *Ludovico Imperatore deſenſo contra Bzovium, Monachii*, 1618, in 4to, et Chriſt. Gewold, in *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro, Ingoldſtadt*, 1618, in 4to, againſt the ſame Bzovius, who, in the *Annals* he had publiſhed, baſely aſperſed the memory of the emperor. See alſo Wadding, in *Annalib. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 77. 106. *f. &c.* Whoever attentively peruſes the hiſtory of this war, will perceive that Louis of *Bavaria* followed the example of Philip the Fair, king of *France*. As Philip brought an accuſation of heresy againſt Boniface, ſo did Louis with reſpect to John XXII. The French monarch made uſe of Nogaret and other accuſers againſt one pontiff: Louis employed Occam and the *Franciscans* in that quality againſt the other. Each inſiſted upon the convocation of a general council, and upon the depoſition of an obnoxious pontiff. I omit other circumſtances that might be alledged to render the parallel more

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and the succeeding year, he asserted, in some public discourses, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold Christ as man, but not the *face of God*, or the divine nature, before their re-union with the body at the last day. This doctrine highly offended Philip VI. king of *France*, was opposed by the pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and condemned in 1333 by the divines of *Paris*. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus severely treated, because it seemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their unembodied state; otherwise the point might have been yielded to a man of his positive temper, without any material consequence. Alarmed by these vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered something by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterwards, in the year 1334, when he was at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he in some measure softened it, by saying he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous *beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit* [q]. This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, Benedict XII. after many disputes about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, were capable of contemplating, fully and perfectly, the divine nature [r]. Benedict's

[q] See Steph. Baluzii *Vite Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 175, 182, 197, 221, 786, &c.—Luc. Dacherii *Spicil. Scriptor. Viter.* tom. i. p. 76, &c.—Jo. Lannoii *Historia Gymnasii Navenensis*, part I. p. 319, 100, &c. part I, op.—Bonlay, *Hijst. Acad.* tom. 35. p. 111, 250.—Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. 1. p. 171, 100, &c. 145.—Echard, *Scriptor. P. Mediiævi.* p. 552, &c.
[r] Baluzii *Vite Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 197, 226, 223, 236.

publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of John; for, when the latter lay upon his death-bed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a *heretic* after his decease [s].

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X. John dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals, about the election of a pope; but towards the end of the year they chose James Fournier, a Frenchman, and cardinal of *St. Prisca*, who took the name of Benedict XII. The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was not chargeable with that avarice, or that ambition, which had dishonoured so many of his predecessors [t]. He put an end to the papal quarrel with the emperor Louis; and though he did not restore him to the communion of the church, because prevented, as it is said, by the king of *France*, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342, while he was devising the most noble schemes for promoting a yet more extensive reformation. In short, if we

Benedict
XII.

[s] All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, viz. five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, *treasures*, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate.

Hist. Eccles. liv. xciv. sect. xxxix.

Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in Muratorii Anti-

275.—Baluzii Vit. Pont. Avinion. tom.

c.—Boulay, in opere prius citato, tom.

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Clement
VI.

overlook his superstition, the prevailing blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

XI. He was succeeded by a man of a very different disposition, Clement VI. a native of *France*, whose name was Peter Roger, and who was cardinal of *St. Nereus* and *St. Achilles*, before his elevation to the pontificate. Not to insist upon the most unexceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct, we shall only observe, that he trod faithfully in the steps of John XXII. in *providing* for vacant churches and bishoprics, by *reserving* to himself the disposal of them, which shewed his sordid and insatiable avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of *England* and *France*; and lastly, that by renewing the dissensions that had formerly subsisted between Louis of *Bavaria* and the Roman see, he displayed to the world his excessive vanity and ambition in the most odious colours. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage was augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and published new sentences of excommunication against him, in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect Henry VII. son to Charles IV. emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in *Germany*, had it not been prevented by the death of Louis, in the year 1347. Clement survived him above five years, and died near the close of the year 1352, famous for nothing but his excessive zeal for the papal authority.

Avignon, whi
Naples, to th

XII. His successor Innocent VI. whose name was Stephen Albert, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election had been bishop of Ostia. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church for almost ten years. His greatest blemish was, that he promoted his relatives with an excessive partiality: but, in other respects, he was a man of merit, and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from reserving churches, and, by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by William Grimoard, abbot of St. Victor at *Marseilles*, who took the name of Urban V. and was entirely free from all the grosser vices, if we except those which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity. This pope, being prevailed on by the intreaties of the Romans, returned to *Rome* in the year 1367; but, in 1370, he came back to *Avignon*, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of *England* and *France*, and died there in the same year.

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Innocent VI.
Urban V.

XIII. He was succeeded by Peter Roger, a French ecclesiastic of illustrious descent, who assumed the name of Gregory XI. a man who, though inferior to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and audacity. In his time, *Italy* in general, and the city of *Rome* in particular, were distressed with most outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on with success a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state [a]: upon which, Gregory, in hopes of quieting the disorders of *Italy*, and also of re-

Gregory XI.

[a] See, chiefly, Colwell

Salutati Epistole, written in the
p. 47.—100. p. 148. 162. See
new Florentine edition by

covering

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covering the cities and territories which had been taken from *St. Peter's patrimony*, transferred the papal seat from *Avignon* to *Rome*, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great measure determined by the advice of Catharine, a virgin of *Scns*, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inspired with the spirit of prophecy, and made a journey to *Avignon* on purpose to persuade him to take this step [*w*]. It was not, however, long before Gregory repented that he had followed her advice: for, by the long absence of the popes from *Italy*, their authority was reduced to so low an ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to *Avignon*; but before he could execute his determination, he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

A great
schism arises
in the
Romish
church.

XIV. After the death of Gregory XI. the cardinals were assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of *Rome*, unwilling that the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with outrageous menaces, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew Pregnano, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of *Bari*, and assumed the name of Urban VI. This new pontiff, by his impolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had entailed upon himself the odium of people of all ranks, and especially of the leading cardinals. These latter, therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from *Rome* to *Anagni*, and thence to *Fondi*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they

[*w*] See Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. p. 159. 192.

elected

elected to the pontificate, Robert, count of *Geneva*, who took the name of Clement VII. and declared at the same time, that the election of Urban was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two we ought to consider as having been the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, a doubtful point; nor will the *records* and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with certainty [*x*]. Urban remained at *Rome*: Clement went to *Avignon* in *France*. His cause was espoused by *France* and *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Sicily*, and *Cyprus*, while all the rest of *Europe* acknowledged Urban to be the true vicar of Christ.

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XV. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head, was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI. and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism* [*y*]. This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of

Its bad consequences.

[*x*] See the acts and documents in Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 463.—Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12.—Steph. Baluze, *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 442. 998;—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *April.* p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

[*y*] An account of this dissension may be seen in Pierre du Puy, *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'An. 1378 jusqu'en l'An. 1428*, which, as we are informed in the *Preface*, was compiled from the royal records of *France*, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject Louis Maimbourg's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. Many documents are to be met with in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. and v. and also in Martenne's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spontanée, and Du Pin.

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fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times are beyond all power of description; for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes ought to be deemed the true successor of Christ, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and, in consequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of Christ, were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest mental distress [z]. Nevertheless, these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for, by these dissensions, the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes, on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained, and the interests of religion secured and promoted, without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

[z] Of the mischievous consequences of this schism, we have a full account in the *Histoire du droit public Eccles. François*, tom. ii. p. 166. 193. 202.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of Urban VI. upon the death of that pope, in the year 1389, set up for his successor, at *Rome*, Peter Thomacelli, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Boniface IX. ; and Clement VII. dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the pontificate Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. During these transactions, various methods were proposed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken was, what they then styled, the *Method of Cession* : but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council holden at *Paris*, in the year 1397, all subjection and obedience to both pontiffs ; and, upon the publication of this resolution, in the year 1398, Benedict was, by the express orders of Charles VI. detained prisoner in his palace at *Avignon* [a].

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Proposals
for abolishing
the
schism.

XVII. Some of the popes, particularly Benedict XII. were perfectly acquainted with the prevailing vices and scandalous conduct of the greatest part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured to rectify and remove : but the disorder was too inveterate to be easily cured, or effectually remedied. The *Mendicants*, and more especially the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, were at the head of the monastic orders, and had, indeed, become the heads of the church : so extensive was the influence they

The enormities of the monks, especially of the Mendicants.

[a] Besides the common historians, and Longueval's *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. see the acts of this council in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 829.

had

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had acquired, that all matters of importance, both in the court of *Rome*, and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their supreme and absolute direction. The multitude had such a high notion of the sanctity of these *sturdy beggars*, and of their credit with the Supreme Being, that great numbers of both sexes, some in health, others in a state of infirmity, others at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admitted into the Mendicant order, which they looked upon as a sure and infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it an essential part of their last wills, that their carcases, after death, should be wrapped in ragged Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants; for amidst the barbarous superstition and wretched ignorance of this age, the generality of people believed that they should readily obtain mercy from Christ at the day of judgment, if they appeared before his tribunal associated with the Mendicant friars.

They fall
under a ge-
neral odium.

XVIII. The high esteem attached to the Mendicant orders, and the great authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So general was this odium, that in almost every province and university of *Europe*, bishops, clergy, and doctors, were warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendency in religious matters. In *England*, *Henry VIII.* made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the

Dominicans.

Dominicans [*b*], while Richard, archbishop of *Armagh*, Henry Crompt, Norris, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity [*c*]. But Richard, whose animosity was much keener against them than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of Innocent VI. in the year 1356, and vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervour, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died [*d*]. They had also many opponents in *France*, who, together with the university of *Paris*, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn their exorbitant power: but John de Polliac set himself openly against them, publicly denying the validity of the absolution granted by the Dominicans and Franciscans to those who confessed to them, maintaining, that the popes were disabled from granting them a power of absolution by the authority of the *canon*, entitled, *Omnis utriusque sexus*; and proving from these premises, that all those, who would be sure of their salvation, ought to confess their sins to the priests of their respective parishes, even though they had been absolved by the monks. They suffered little or nothing, however, from the efforts of these numerous adversaries, being resolutely protected against all opposition, whether open or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their best

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[*b*] See Wood's *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150. 196. &c.

[*c*] See Wood, tom. i. p. 181. tom. ii. p. 61.—Baluzii *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 950. Boulay, tom. iv. p. 336.—Wadding, tom. viii. p. 126.

[*d*] See Simon, *Lettres Choises*, tome i. p. 164.—I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of Bartholomew de Brisac, entitled, "Solutiones oppositæ Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus factis, Anno 1360."

friends,

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John Wick-
liff.

friends, and most effectual supports. Accord-
ingly, John XXII. by an extraordinary decree,
condemned the opinions of John de Polliac, in the
year 1321 [e].

XIX. But, among all the enemies of the Men-
dicant orders, no one has been transmitted to poste-
rity with more exalted encomiums on the one
hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than
John Wickliff, an English doctor, professor of
divinity at *Oxford*, and afterwards rector of *Lut-
terworth*; who, according to the testimony of the
writers of these times, was a man of an enter-
prising genius, and extraordinary learning. In
the year 1360, animated by the example of Rich-
ard, archbishop of *Armagh*, he defended the
statutes and privileges of the university of *Ox-
ford*, against all the orders of the Mendicants,
and had the courage to throw out some slight
reproofs against the popes, their principal pa-
trons, which no true Briton ever imputed to
him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he
was deprived of the wardenship of *Canterbury-
Hall*, in the university of *Oxford*, by Simon Lang-
ham, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who substituted
a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to
pope Urban V. who confirmed the sentence of
the archbishop against him, on account of the
freedom with which he had inveighed against the
monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this
treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only
attacked all the monks, and their scandalous ir-
regularities, but even the pontifical power itself

[e] See Jo. Launojus, *de Canone Omnis utriusque
Sexus*, tom. i. part I. op. p. 271. 287, &c.—Baluzii *Vit.
Pontif. Avenion.* tome i. p. 132. tom. ii. p. 10. &
Miscellanca, tom. i. p. 153.—Dacherii *Spicil. Scriptor.
Veter.* tom. i. p. 112.—Marteune, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i.
p. 1368.

and

and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. He proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more general. Though neither the doctrine of Wickliff was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed, that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary [f].

XX. The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI. who, in the year 1377, ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take cognizance of the affair in a council convoked at *London*. Imminent as this danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it, by the interest of the duke of *Lancaster*, and some other peers, who had a high regard for him. And soon after the death of Gregory, the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at *Rome*, and another at *Avignon*; so that of course the controversy lay dormant a long time. The process against Wickliff was afterwards revived, however, by William de Courtenay, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils holden

His advocacy
various.

[f] A work of his was published at *Leipsic* and *Frankfort*, in 4to, in the year 1753, entitled, *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrine, yet shews sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

at

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at *London* and *Oxford*. The event was, that of the *twenty-three* opinions, for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, *ten* were condemned as heresies, and *thirteen* as errors [g]. He himself, however, returned in safety to *Luttreworth*, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. The latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a secret [b]. He left many followers in *England*, and other countries, who were styled *Wickliffites* and *Lollards*, which last was a term of popular reproach translated from the Fle-

[g] In the original, Dr. Mosheim says, that, of eighteen articles imputed to Wickliff, nine were condemned as *heresies*, and fifteen as *errors*. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by William Woodford, in a letter to Arundel, archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor Courtenay at *London*, of which ten were pronounced *heretical*, and thirteen *erroneous*. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* Orthuini Gratii, published first at *Cologne* by the compiler, in the year 1535, and afterwards at *London* in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments, by the learned Mr. Edward Brown. The letter of Woodford is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.

[b] We have a full and complete *History of the Life and sufferings of John Wickliff*, published in 8vo, at *London*, in the year 1720, by Mr. John Lewis, who also published, in the year 1731, Wickliff's English translation of the *New Testament* from the Latin version, called the *Vulgate*. This translation is enriched with a learned *Preface* by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and sufferings, of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controversies which were occasioned by the doctrines of Wickliff, are to be found in the learned work of Wilkins, entitled *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*. tom. iii. p. 116. 156.—See also Boulay, *Hijlor. Acad. Parif.* tom. iv. p. 450.—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 183. 186, &c.

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nish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the *inquisitors*, and other instruments of papal vengeance; and, in the council of *Constance*, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burned.

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XXI. Although the Mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic phrensy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a *second* Christ, in all respects similar to the *first*, and that their institution, doctrine, and discipline, were the true gospel of Jesus. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert, that the absurd fable of the *stigmata*, or five wounds impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on mount *Alvernus*, was worthy of credit, because matter of undoubted fact [i]. Nor was this

The impiety of the Franciscans.

[i] The story of the *marks*, or *stigmata*, impressed on Francis, is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which Wadding has collected with great care, and published in his *Annales Minorum*, tom.

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of the con-
formities of
St. Francis.

this all; for they not only permitted to be published, without any mark of their disapprobation, but approved, and even recommended, an impious piece, stuffed with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than either of the above-mentioned fictions, and entitled, *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*, which was composed, in the year 1385, by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan of *Pisa*, with the applause of his order. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a wretched mortal, is an eternal monument of the outrageous enthusiasm and abominable arrogance of the Franciscan order, and

tom. viii. and ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable; but, being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the Franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. Francis had upon his body the *marks* or impressions of the five great wounds of Christ, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But, as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident that he imprinted on himself these *holy* wounds, that he might resemble Christ, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in these times, for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies *marks* of this kind, that having thus continually before them a lively representation of the death of Christ, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. Paul, *Galat. vi. 17.* were sufficient to confirm in this wretched delusion an ignorant and superstitious age, in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these *stigmatized fanatics* might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this ancient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciscan monks, having found these *marks* upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by Heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of Christ's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.

also

also of the excessive imprudence of the pontiffs who extolled and recommended it [*k*].

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The errors
of the
Fratricelli.

XXII. The Franciscans, who adhered to the genuine and austere rule of their founder, and opposed the popes who attempted to mitigate the severity of its injunctions, were not in the least wiser than those of the order, who acknowledged the jurisdiction and respected the decisions of the Roman pontiffs. By those antipapal Franciscans; I mean the Fratricelli, or Minorites, and the Tertiaries of that order, otherwise called Beghards, together with the Spirituals, who resided principally in France, and embraced the opinions of Pierre d'Olive. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they appeared, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century [*l*], the less austere Franciscans were outrageous in their resentment against the Fratricelli, who had deserted their com-

[*k*] For an account of Albizi, and his book, see Wadding, tom. ix. p. 158.—Fabricii *Biblioth. Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 131.—Schelhornii *Amen. Liter.* tom. iii. p. 160.—Bayle's *Dictionary*, at the article *François*, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* at the article *Albizi*. Erasmus Albert made several extracts from this book, and published them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French and, in 1734, was published at *Amsterdam*, in two volumes 8vo, in French and Latin, with elegant cuts.

☞ The *Conformities* between Christ and St. Francis, are only carried to forty, in the book of Albizi; but they are multiplied to 400, by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a work published at *Madrid*, in 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratiæ Portentum*. The *Conformities* mentioned by Pedro de Alva Astorga, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tome iv. p. 318.

[*l*] In the years 1306 and 1307.

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munion [m]; upon which such of the latter as had the good fortune to escape the fury of their persecutors, retired into *France*, in the year 1307, and associated themselves with the *spirituals*, or followers of Pierre d'Olive, in *Provence*, who had also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order in *France*, *Italy*, and other countries, formed two parties. Those who embraced the severe discipline and absolute poverty of St. Francis, were called *Spirituals*; such as insisted upon mitigating the austere injunctions of their founder, were styled the *Brethren of the Community*. The latter, being by far the most numerous and powerful, exerted themselves to the utmost, to oppress the former, whose faction, as yet, was but weak, and, as it were, in its infancy; yet they cheerfully submitted to these hardships, rather than return to the society of those who had deserted the rules of their master. Pope Clement V., having drawn the leaders of these two parties to his court, took great pains to compose these dissensions; nevertheless, his pacific scheme advanced but slowly, on account of the inflexible obstinacy of each sect, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the mean while, the Spirituals of Tuscany, instead of waiting for the decision of his holiness, chose a president and inferior officers; while those of *France*, being in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, patiently expected the papal determination [n].

Deliberations about composing the differences among the Franciscans.

XXIII. After many deliberations, Clement, in a general council at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*,

[m] Wadding, tom. vi. *ad An.* 1307.

[n] Wadding, tom. iv. *ad An.* 1310, p. 217.—Eccardi *Corpus Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 129.—Eccardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 505.

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(where he issued the famous bull [o], *Exivi de paradiso*,) proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise concessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the Spirituals, or rigid Franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of absolute poverty, according to their primitive rule, and the solemn renunciation of all property, whether common or personal, confining them to what was necessary for their immediate subsistence, and allowing them, even for that, a very scanty pittance. He, however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the necessaries of life, to erect granaries and store-houses, where they might deposit a part of their alms as a stock, in case of want; and ordered that all such repositories should be under the inspection and management of overseers and storekeepers, who were to determine what quantity of provisions should be laid up in them. And, finally, in order to satisfy the Brethren of the Community, he condemned some opinions of Pierre d'Olive [p]. These proceedings silenced the monastic commotions in France; but the Tuscan and Italian Spirituals were so exceedingly perverse and obstinate, that they could not be brought to consent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themselves safe in *Italy*, went into *Sicily*, where they met with a friendly reception from Frederic, the nobility and bishops [q].

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[o] This bull is inserted in the *Jus Canonicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *de verbor. signif.* tom. ii. p. 1095. edit. Böhmeri.

[p] Wadding, tom. vi. p. 194. 197. 199.

[q] Wadding, tom. vi. p. 213, 214.—Boulay, tom. iv. p. 152. 165.—Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392.

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XXIV. Upon the death of Clement V. the tumult, which had been appeased by his authority, revived in *France* with as much fury as ever. For, in the year 1314, a hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* made a violent attack upon the Brethren of the Community, drove them out of the convents of *Narbonne* and *Beziers* by force of arms, and inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher degree, by relinquishing their ancient habits, and assuming such as were short, strait, and coarse. They were soon joined by a considerable number from other provinces; and the citizens of *Narbonne*, where Olive was interred, enlisted themselves in the party. John XXII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1317, took great pains to heal this new disorder. The first thing he did for this purpose, was to publish a special bull, by which he ordered the abolition of the *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, and their *Tertiaries*, whether *Beguines* or *Beghards*, who formed a body distinct from the *Spirituals* [*r*]. In the next place, he admonished the king of *Sicily* to expel all the *Spirituals*, who had taken refuge in his dominions [*s*]: and then ordered the French *Spirituals* to appear at *Avignon*; where he exhorted them to return to their duty; and, as the first step to it, to lay aside the short, close habits, with the small hoods. The greatest part of them obeyed; but Fr. Bernard Delitiosi, who was the head of the faction, and twenty-four of the Brethren, boldly refused to submit to the injunction. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged that the rules prescribed by St. Francis, were the same with the gospel of Jesus Christ; that the popes therefore had no authority to alter them; that

[*r*] This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII.* tit. vii. *de religiosis domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

[*s*] Wadding, tom. vi. p. 265.

the pontiffs had acted sinfully in permitting the Franciscans to have *granaries* and *storehouses*; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. Francis. John, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate brethren should be proceeded against as *heretics*. And surely nothing could make them appear *wiler heretics* in the papal eye, than their venturing thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for Delitiosi, who is sometimes called Delli Confi, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames in the year 1318, at *Marscilles* [t]; which horrible sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

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XXV. Thus these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity, who were afterwards cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontiffs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. Francis, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very *Gospel of Christ*, and therefore ought not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their *granaries* and *store-houses*. The Brethren of the Community,

The ridiculous disputes of the Franciscans.

[t] Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341. et *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. 272. Wadding, tom. vi. p. 267. s. 316. Martenne, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. Martinus *Fuldensis*, in *Eccardi Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1725. et Herm. Cornerus, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 179. s. Argentre, *Collectio Judiciar. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 294.

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or the less rigid Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the *Spirituals* went in short, scanty, and very coarse ones, which they asserted to be precisely the dress enjoined by the institute of St. Francis, and what therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter. And whereas the *Brethren of the Community*, immediately after the harvest and vintage, were accustomed to lay up a stock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the *Spiritual* Franciscans resolutely opposed this practice, as entirely repugnant to the profession of absolute poverty that had been embraced by the *Fraticelli*, or *Minorites*. In order to put an end to these broils, pope John, in this very year, published a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to submit their disputes, upon the two points above-mentioned, to the decision of their superiors [u].

Excite griev-
ous com-
motions.

XXVI. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of John, whose cruelty was condemned and detested even by his adherents. For the *Spiritual* Franciscans and their votaries, being highly exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that John, by procuring the destruction of these holy men, had rendered himself utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true *Antichrist*. They moreover revered their four brethren, who were burned at *Marseilles*, as so many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes; and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever against long habits, large hoods, granaries, and store-houses. The inquisitors, on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many

[u] It may be seen in the *Jus Canon. inter Extravag. communes de verbor. signif.* cap. i. See also Wadding, tom. vi. p. 273.

of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So that from this time a vast number of those zealous defenders of the institute of St. Francis, viz. the Minorites, Beghards, and Spirituals, were most barbarously put to death, not only in *France*, but also in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany* [*w*].

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XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to spread till it invaded the whole Franciscan order, which, in the year 1321, had revived the old contentions concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles. A certain Beguin, or monk of the third order of St. Francis, who was apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught, among other things, "That neither Christ, nor his apostles, ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion." John de Belna, an inquisitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but Berengarius Taloni, a Franciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly consonant to the bull, *Exiit qui seminat*, of Nicolas III. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the Franciscans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With this view he called

A new dispute arises concerning the poverty of Christ.

[*w*] Besides many other pieces that serve to illustrate the intricate history of this persecution, I have in my possession a treatise, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the inquisition at *Carcaffone*, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of a hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of Innocent VI. were committed to the flames in *France* and *Italy*, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty of St. Francis. I reckon that, from these and other records, published and unpublished, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind. See *Codex Inquis. Tolosane*, Limborch's edition, p. 298. 319.

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into his council Ubertinus de Cafalis, the patron of the *Spirituals*, and a person of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave captious, subtle and equivocal answers to the questions that were proposed to him. The pontiff, however, and the cardinals, persuaded that his decisions, however ambiguous, might contribute to terminate the quarrel, acquiesced in them, seconded them with their authority, and, at the same time, enjoined silence and moderation on the contending parties [x].

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. The pope perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; and he himself proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of *Paris*, the determination of this point, viz. "Whether those" "were to be deemed heretics, who maintained that" "Jesus Christ, and his apostles, had no common or" "personal property in any thing they possessed?" The Franciscans, who held an assembly this year at *Perugia*, having gained intelligence of this proceeding, decreed that those who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to *Avignon*, to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order against all opponents whatever. The person whom they commissioned for this purpose was F. Bonagratia, of *Bergamo*, who also went by the name of Boncortese [y], one of their fraternity, and a man

[x] Wadding, tom. vi. p. 361. Steph. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 307. Ger. du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611.

[y] I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent writers, by not attending to this circumstance, have taken these two names for two different persons.

famous

famous for his extensive learning. John, being highly incensed at this step, issued a decree in November, wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically opposite to that of the Franciscans, and declared them to be heretics, for obstinately maintaining "that Christ and his apostles had no common or personal property in what they possessed, nor a power of selling, or alienating any part of it." Soon after, he proceeded yet farther, and in another constitution (published in December), exposed the weakness and inefficacy of those arguments, commonly deduced from a bull of Nicholas III. concerning the property of the Franciscan possessions being transferred to the church of *Rome*, whereby the monks were supposed to be deprived of what we call right, and were only allowed the *simple use* of what was necessary for their *immediate* support. In order to confute this plea, he shewed that it was absolutely impossible to separate *right* and *property* from the *lawful use* of such things as were immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects, which had been reserved to the church of *Rome* by former popes, their churches and some other things excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and administered by procurators, on the part of the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abolished all the decrees and constitutions of his predecessors relating to this affair [z].

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[z] These constitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and also among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *de verbor. signific.* cap. ii, iii. p. 1121. For an account of the transaction itself, the reader should chiefly consult that impartial writer, Alvarus Pelagius, *de Placitu ecclesie*, lib. ii. c. 60. s. 145. as also Wadding, tom. vi. p. 394. Both these authors blame pope John.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 191.

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The quarrel
between the
Franciscans
and John
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XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted *expropriation*, which was the main bulwark of the Franciscan order, and which its founder had esteemed the distinguishing glory of the society. It was therefore natural, that these measures should determine the Franciscans to an obstinate resistance. And such indeed was the effect they produced: for, in the year 1323, they sent their brother Bonagratia, in quality of legate to the papal court, where he vigorously and openly opposed the recent constitution of John, boldly affirming, that it was contrary to human as well as divine law [a]. The pope, on the other hand, highly exasperated against this audacious defender of the Franciscan poverty, threw him into prison; and, by a new edict, which he published about the end of the year, enacted, that all who maintained that Christ, and his apostles, had no common or special property in any of their possessions, should be deemed heretics, and corruptors of the true religion [b]. Finding, however, that the Franciscans were not terrified in the least by this decree, he published another yet more flaming constitution, about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounced that tenet *concerning the expropriation of Christ and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, hostile to the catholic faith*; and declared all such as adhered to it, *obstinate heretics*,

[a] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 2. 22.—Alvar. Pelagius, *de Planctu ecclesie*, lib. ii. p. 167.—Trithemius, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 157.—Theod. de Niem, in *Eccardi Corpore Histor. med. ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

[b] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 36.—*Contin. de Nangis*, in *Dacherii Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205.—*Benedictinor. Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

and rebels against the church [c]. In consequence of this merciless decree, great numbers of those who persisted in asserting that Christ and his apostles were exactly such mendicants as Francis would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the Dominican inquisitors, who were implacable enemies of the Franciscans, and committed to the flames. The histories of *France* and *Spain*, *Italy* and *Germany*, during this and the following century, abound with instances of this atrocious cruelty.

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XXX. The zealous pontiff pursued this affair with great warmth for several years; and, as this contest seemed to have taken its rise from the books of Pierre d'Olive, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Postilla* and other writings of that author, as pernicious and heretical [d]. The next step he took was to summon to *Avignon*, some of the more learned and eminent brethren of the Franciscan order, of whose writings and eloquence he was particularly apprehensive, and to detain them at his court; and then, to arm himself against the resentment and indignation of this exasperated society, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a strict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the Dominicans. Michael de Cesena, who resided in *Italy*, and was the head of the order, could but ill dissemble the hatred he had conceived against the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to *Avignon*, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his

The attempt of the Franciscans against the pope.

[c] This constitution, and the two former already mentioned, are published among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *de verbor. signif.* Wadding, (tom. vii. p. 36.) vigorously opposed this last; which is rather extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.

[d] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 47. — Eccardi *Corpus Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491.

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office [*e*]. But, prudent as this rigorous measure might appear at first sight, it served only to inflame the enraged Franciscans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the bitter and well-known contest, between John XXII. and Louis of *Bavaria*, break out, than the principal champions of the Franciscan cause, such as Marsilius of *Padua*, and John of *Genoa*, fled to the emperor, and under his protection published the most virulent pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked John personally, but also leveled their satire at the power and authority of the popes in general [*f*]. This example was soon followed by others, particularly by Mich. of *Cesena*, and William Occam, who excelled most men of his time in subtilty and acuteness of genius, and also by F. Bonagratia of *Bergamo*. They made their escape by sea from *Avignon*, in the year 1328, went first to the emperor, who was, at that time, in *Italy*, and thence proceeded to *Munich*. They were soon joined by many others, such as Berengarius, Francis de *Esculo*, and Henry de *Halem*, who were highly and deservedly esteemed, on account of their eminent parts and extensive learning [*g*]. All these learned fugitives

[*e*] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 69. 74.

[*f*] Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85. *Buller. Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. Martenne, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695. 704. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this subject written by Marsilius of *Padua*, who was professor at *Vienna*, which was published in 8vo. at *Frankfort*, by Franc. Gomarus, 1592, and is intitled, *Defensor Pacis pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus usurpatam Romani Pontificis jurisdictionem*.

[*g*] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 81.—Martenne, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iii. p. 749. 757. s. 781.—Trithemii *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 167.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217.—Eccardi *Corpus Hist. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034.—Baluzii

fugitives defended the institute of their founder in long and laboured treatises, in which they reduced the papal dignity and authority within a very narrow compass, and loaded the pontiffs with reproaches and invectives. Occam surpassed them all in the keenness and spirit of his satire; and hence his *Dialogues*, together with his other productions, which were perused with avidity, and transmitted to succeeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majesty of the Roman pontiffs.

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XXXI. On the other hand, Louis, to express his gratitude to these his defenders, not only made the cause of the Franciscans his own, but also adopted their favourite sentiment concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles. For among the heresies and errors of which he publicly accused John XXII. and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and most pernicious one, in the opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the poverty of Christ did not exclude all right and property in what he used as a subsistence [*b*]. The *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, *Beguines*, and *Spirituals*, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in *Germany*, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so that, during his reign, that country was overrun with shoals of Mendicant friars. There was scarcely a province or city in the empire that did not abound with *Beghards* and *Beguines*; that is, monks and nuns who professed the third rule of St. Francis, and placed the chief excellence of the

Louis of Bavaria, becomes the patron of the Franciscans.

Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 293. 315.—The reader may also consult those writers who have compiled *Indexes* and *Collections* of *Ecclesiastical Historians*.

[*b*] See *Processus Ludowici contra Johannem*, A. 1328, d. 12. *Dec. datus*, in Baluzii *Miscellaneis*, tom. ii. p. 522. and also his *Appellatio*, p. 494.

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Christian life in a voluntary and absolute poverty [*i*]. The Dominicans, on the other hand, as enemies to the Franciscans, and friends to the pope, were treated with great severity by his imperial majesty, who banished them with ignominy out of several cities [*k*].

Peace is
made be-
tween the
Franciscans
and the
pope.

XXXII. The rage of the contending parties subsided greatly from the year 1329. The pope ordered a diet of the Franciscans to be holden in that year at *Paris*, where, by means of cardinal Bertrand, who was president of the assembly, and by the efforts of the Parisian doctors, who were attached to his interests, he so far softened the resentment of the greatest part of the brethren, that they ceased to defend the conduct of Michael of Cesena and his associates, and permitted another president, Gerard Odo, to be substituted in his room. They also acknowledged John to be a true and lawful pope; and then terminated the dispute concerning the poverty of Christ in such an ambiguous manner, that the constitutions and edicts of Nicholas III. and John XXII. however contradictory, maintained their authority [*l*]. But, notwithstanding these pacific and mutual concessions, there were great numbers of the Franciscans in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, who would by no means consent to this reconciliation. After the death of John, Benedict XII. and Clement VI. took great pains to close the breach, and shewed some clemency and tenderness towards such of the order as thought the institute of their founder more sacred than the papal

[*i*] I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

[*k*] Mart. Diefenbach. *de mortis genere, quo Henricus VII. obiit*, p. 145. and others. — Eccardi *Corpus Hist. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 2103. — Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 220.

[*l*] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 94. — Dacherii *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

bulls.

ulls. This lenity had some good effects. Many who had withdrawn themselves from the society, were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were Francis de Esculo, and others, who had been some of John's most inveterate enemies [m]. Even those who could not be prevailed on to return to their order, ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and would have no sort of connection with those *Fratricelli* and *Tertiaries* in *Italy, Spain, and Germany*, who condemned the papal authority [n].

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XXXIII. The German Franciscans, who were protected by the emperor Louis, held out their opposition much longer than any of the rest. But, in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the Franciscan *Spirituals*, as also of their associates the *Beghards*, or *Tertiaries*, were at an end in *Germany*. For, Charles IV. who, by the interest of the pope, had been declared king of the Romans in 1345, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the desires of the court of *Rome*, and accordingly supported, both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquisitors who were sent by the Roman pontiff against his enemies, and suffered them to apprehend and put to death all obnoxious individuals who came within their reach. These ministers of papal vengeance acted chiefly in the districts of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse*, where they extirpated all the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or *Tertiaries*, the associates of those Franciscans, who held that Christ and his apostles had no property in any thing. These severe measures were approved by Charles IV. who

The distresses of
Spirituals,
Beghards,
&c. in Ger-
many.

[m] Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 281.—Wadding, tom. vii. p. 3. 3.

[n] Wadding, tom. vii. p. 116. 126.—Argentre, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 343, &c.

then

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then resided at *Lucca*, in *Italy*; whence, in the year 1369, he issued severe edicts, commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions, the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or, as he himself interpreted the name, the *voluntary beggars* [*o*], as enemies of the church, and of the Roman empire, and to assist the *inquisitors* in their proceedings against them. By another edict, published not long after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for heretics; and, at the same time, ordered all the effects of the *Beguines* to be publicly sold, and the profits thence arising, to be equally divided among the *inquisitors*, the magistrates, and the poor of those towns and cities where such sale should take place [*p*]. The *Beghards*, being reduced to great distress, by this and other mandates of the emperor, and by the constitutions of the popes, sought a refuge in those provinces of *Switzerland* that border upon the *Rhine*, and also in *Holland*, *Brabant*, and various parts of *Germany* [*q*]. But the edicts

[*o*] In high Dutch, *die wilgen Armen*.

[*p*] I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of Charles IV. enacted on this occasion, as also many of the papal constitutions, and other records which illustrate this affair, and which undoubtedly deserve to see the light. It is certain, that Charles himself, in his edicts and mandates, clearly characterizes those people, whom he there styles *Beghards* and *Beguines*, as *Franciscan Tertiaries*, belonging to that party of the order then at variance with the pope. "They are (to use the emperor's own words, in his edict issued at *Lucca*, and bearing date the 17th of June, 1369) a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under a vow, that they neither ought to have, nor will have, any property, whether special or common, in the goods they use;" (this is the poverty of the Franciscan institute, which John XXII. so strenuously opposed) "which they extend even to their wretched habits."—For so the spirituals and their associates used to do.

[*q*] See Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1372.* sect. xxxiv. p. 515. See also the books of Felix Malleolus, written in the following century against the *Beghards* of *Switzerland*.

and

and mandates of the emperor, together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, harassed them in their most distant retreats; and during the reign of Charles IV. all Germany (except the provinces bordering upon Switzerland) was thoroughly purged of the Beghards, or rebellious Franciscans, both perfect and imperfect.

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XXXIV. But no edicts, bulls, or inquisitors, could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate discord: for so ardently were many of the brethren bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous manner, the institute of St. Francis, that numbers were to be found in all places, who either withstood the president of the society, or at least obeyed him with reluctance. At once, therefore, to satisfy both the lax and the rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that Paulutius Fulginas, the chief of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, together with his associates, who were numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institutes of their founder, in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The Spirituals, and the followers of Pierre d'Olive, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the severe discipline continually encreased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which **subsist** to this day; viz. the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the regular observance*. Those

Division of
the Fran-
ciscan order
into two
considerable
parties.

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who neglected the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were called by the former name; and the council of *Constance* conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it [r]. But the *Fratricelli*, together with the *Beghards* (whom we have frequently had occasion to mention), absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of the church during this and the following century, in the marquise of *Ancona*, and in other districts.

New religious orders are founded.

XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious societies, some of which were but of short duration, and the rest never became famous. John Colombini, a nobleman of *Sienna*, founded, in the year 1367, the order of the *Apostolic Clerks*, who, because they frequently pronounced the name of Jesus, were afterwards called *Jesuates*. This institution was confirmed by Urban V. in the following year, and subsisted till the seventeenth century, when it was abolished by Clement IX. [s]. The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. Augustin. They were not, however, admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by their prayers and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed *gratis* [t]. But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when Clement dissolved the order.

[r] See Wadding, tom. viii. p. 209. 298. 326. tom. ix. p. 59. 65, &c.

[s] In the year 1668.

[t] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tome iii. p. 411.—Pagi *Breviar. Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189.—Bonanni, and others, who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

XXXVI. Soon

XXXVI. Soon after the commencement of this century, the famous sect of the Cellite Brethren and Sisters arose at Antwerp; they were also styled the Alexian Brethren and Sisters, because St. Alexius was their patron; and they were named Cellites, from the cells in which they were accustomed to live. As the clergy of this age took little care of the sick and dying, and deserted such as were infected with those pestilential disorders which were then very frequent, some compassionate and pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into a society for the performance of these religious offices, which the sacerdotal orders so shamefully neglected. In the prosecution of this agreement, they visited and comforted the sick, assisted the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took care of the interment of those who were cut off by the plague, and on that account forsaken by the terrified clergy, and committed them to the grave with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference to this last office, that the common people gave them the name of Lollards [n]. The example

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The sect of
the Cellite
brethren and
sisters. The
Lollards.

[n] Many writers have given us copious accounts concerning the sect and name of the Lollards; yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently assert, because I have carefully and expressly inquired into whatever relates to the Lollards, and, from the most authentic records concerning them, both published and unpublished, have collected copious materials from which their true history may be compiled. Most of the German writers, as well as those of other countries, affirm, that the Lollards were a particular sect, who differed from the church of Rome in many religious points; and that Walter Lolhard, who was burned in this century at Cologne, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion, is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to Jo. Trithemius as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour, with all possible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

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example of these good people had such an extensive influence, that in a little time societies of the

The term *Lollbard*, or *Lullbard*, or, as the ancient Germans wrote it, *Lollert*, *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *lullen*, *lollan*, *lallen*, and the well known termination *bard*, with which many of the old High-Dutch words end. *Lullen*, or *lullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is yet used in the same sense among the English, who say, *lull a-sleep*, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See Franc. Junii *Etymologicon Anglicanum*, ab Edvardo Lye editum Oxon. 1743, fol. under the word *Lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their respective *Dictionaries*. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronunciation of it have undergone some alteration; for they say, *lallen*, which signifies to pronounce indistinctly, or stammer. *Lollbard*, therefore, is a singer, or one who frequently sings. For as the word *beggen*, which universally signifies to request any thing fervently, is applied to devotional requests, or prayers; and, in the stricter sense in which it is used by the Germans, denotes praying fervently to God; in the same manner the word *lollen*, or *lullen*, is transferred from a common to a sacred song, and signifies, in its most limited sense, to sing a hymn. *Lolkard*, therefore, in the vulgar tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is continually praising God with a song, or singing hymns to his honour. Hocsemius, a canon of Liege, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodienfium*, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in Jo. Chapeauvilli *Gestis Pontificum Tungrenfium et Leodienfium*, tom. ii. p. 350. "In the same year (1309), says he, certain strolling hypocrites, who were called *Lollards*, or praifers of God, deceived some women of quality in Hairault and Brabant." Because those who praised God generally did it in verse; *to praise God*, in the Latin style of the middle age, meant to sing to him; and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration, were called religious singers. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety towards God, those who aspired to a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called *Lollhards*. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with the term *Begbard*, which denoted a person remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century, these two words are synonymous: so that all who were styled *Begbards*, are also called *Lollards*. who have been proved to a demonstration to have been the same persons.

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the same sort of *Lollards*, consisting both of men and women, were formed in most parts of Ger-
many

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against the *Beghards*: so that there are precisely as many sorts of *Beghards* as of *Lollards*. Those whom the monks now call *Lay Brothers*, were formerly called *Lollard Brethren*, as is well observed by Barthol. Schobinger, *ad Joach. Vadianum de collegiis monasteriisque Germanie Veter.* lib. i. p. 24. in Goldasti *Scriptor. rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.

The Brethren of the free spirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by some styled *Beghards*. by others *Lollards*. The followers of Gerard Groote, or *Priests of the community*, are frequently called *Lollard Brethren*. The good man Walter, who was burned at *Cologne*, and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, is by some called a *Beghard*, by others a *Lollard*, and by others a *Minorite*. The Franciscan *Tertiaries*, who were remarkable for their prayers and other pious exercises, often go by the name of *Lollards*. The *Cellite Brethren*, or *Alexians*, whose piety was very exemplary, no sooner appeared in *Flanders*, about the beginning of this century, than the people gave them the title of *Lollards*, a term much in use at that time. A particular reason indeed for their being distinguished by this name was, that they were public singers, who made it their business to inter the bodies of those who died of the plague, and sang a dirge over them in a mournful and indistinct tone as they carried them to the grave. Among the many testimonies that might be alleged to prove this, we shall confine ourselves to the words of Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, a man eminently skilled in the history of his country, in his work, entitled, *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. "The Alexians," says he, "who constantly employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some honest pious laymen formed a society. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were styled *Matemanni* (or *Moderatists*) and also *Lollards*, from their attendance on funeral obsequies. From their cells, they were named *Cellite brethren*." To the same purpose is the following passage in his work, entitled, *Lo-vanium*, p. 18. which is inserted in the splendid folio edition of the *Belgic Antiquities*, published at *Louvain*, in 1708: "The Alexians, who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who having wholly devoted themselves to works of mercy, were named *Lollards* and *Matemanni* (or *Moderatists*). They made it their sole business to take care of all such as were sick, or out of their senses. These they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead." The same learned author tells us, that he transcribed some of these particulars from an old diary written

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many and *Flanders*, and were supported, partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns, where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found their profits diminished by the growing credit of these strangers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable

in Flemish rhyme. Hence we find in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, in Ant. Matthæi *AnaleB. vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 431. the following words: "Die Lollardtjes die brochten de dooden by een, i. e. the Lollards who collected the dead bodies;" which passage is thus paraphrased by Matthæus, "The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a fixed company, were a set of mean, worthless creatures, who usually spoke in a canting mournful tone, as if bewailing the dead; and hence it came to pass, that a street in *Utrecht*, in which most of these people lived, was called the *Loller street*." The same reason that changed the word *Beghard* from its primitive meaning, contributed also to give, in process of time, a different signification to that of *Lollard*, even to its being assumed by persons that dishonoured it. For among those Lollards who made such extraordinary pretences to piety and religion, and spent the greatest part of their time in meditation, prayer, and the like acts of piety, there were many abominable hypocrites, who entertained the most ridiculous opinions, and concealed the most enormous vices, under the specious mask of this extraordinary profession. But it was chiefly after the rise of the *Alexians*, or *Cellites*, that the name *Lollard* became infamous. For the priests and monks, being inveterately exasperated against these good men, propagated injurious suspicions of them, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that, innocent and beneficent as the *Lollards* seemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the most pernicious sentiments of a religious kind, and secretly addicted to all sorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any person, who covered heresies or crimes under the appearance of piety, was called a *Lollard*. So that it is certain, this was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects, who were supposed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church, under an external profession of extraordinary piety.

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errors. Hence it was, that the word *Lollard*, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person, who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either pernicious sentiments or enormous vices. But the magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the *Lollards* against their malignant rivals, and obtained several papal constitutions, by which their institute was confirmed, and their persons, exempted from the cognizance of the inquisitors, were subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, Charles, duke of *Burgundy*, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from pope Sixtus IV. ordering that the *Cellites*, or *Lollards*, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and Julius II. granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many societies of this kind are yet subsisting at *Cologne*, and in the cities of *Flanders*, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules [w].

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XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century, the following were the most eminent.

Greek writers.

Nicephorus Callistus, whose *Ecclesiastical History* we have already mentioned;

Matthew Blastares, who illustrated and explained the canon law of the Greeks;

Balaam, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins;

[w] Besides many others, whom it is unnecessary to mention here, see *Ægid. Gelenius, de admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. *Syntagm.* li. p. 534. 598. Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, in *Antiquit. Belg.*—Anton. Sanderus, in *Brabantia et Flandria illustrat.*—Aub. Miræus, in *operibus Diplomatico-Historicis*, and many other writers of this period in various places of their works. I may add, that those who are styled *Lollards*, are by many called *die Nullbruder*, from *Nullen*, an ancient German word.

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Gregory Acindynus, an inveterate enemy of the Palamites, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place ;

John Cantacuzenus, famous for his history of his own time, and his confutation of the Mohammedan law ;

Nicephorus Gregoras, who compiled the Byzantine history, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity ;

Theophanes, bishop of Nice, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies ;

Nilus Cabasilas, Nilus Rhodius, and Nilus Damyla, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against the Latin writers ;

Philotheus, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite a devotional temper and spirit ;

Gregory Palamas, of whom more will be said hereafter.

Latin writers.

XXXVIII. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century, we shall only select the most famous. Among the scholastic doctors, who blended philosophy with divinity, John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan, and the great antagonist of Thomas, held the first rank ; and, though not entitled to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in acuteness and subtilty of genius [x].

After him the most celebrated writers of this class were Durand of St. Portian, who combated

[x] The very laborious and learned Wadding favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of Scotus, printed at *Lyons*, 1639, in twelve volumes folio. Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86. ; and especially Wadding, *Annal. Minor. frat.* tom. vi. p. 40. 107.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

he commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will [*y*], Antonius Andreas, Hervæus Natalis, Francis Mayronius, Thomas Bradwardine, an acute ingenious man [*z*], Peter Aureolus, John Bacon, William Occam, Walter Burlæus, Peter de Alliaco, Thomas of Strasburg, and Gregory de Rimini [*a*].

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Among the mystic divines, Jo. Tauler and Jo. Ruysbrock, though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and integrity;

Nicholas Lyranus, or de Lyra, acquired great reputation by his Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible;

Rayner of Pisa is celebrated for his Summary of Theology, and Atefanus for his Summary of Cases of Conscience.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian Church during this century.

I. **A**LL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times, must acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the schools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was so extremely adulterated and deformed, that there was not a single branch

The corruption of religion.

[*y*] See Launoy's treatise, entitled *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. op.—*Gallia Christi.* tom. ii. p. 723.

[*z*] Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choïses*, tome iv. p. 232. & *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs, Ecclesiast. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 360. Steph. Souciet, in *Observationibus ad b. l. p. 7. 3.*—*Nouv. Dict. Hist. Crit.* tome ii. p. 500. He was archbishop of Canterbury.

[*a*] For a full account of all these persons, see *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. p. 11, &c.

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of the Christian doctrine, which retained its primitive lustre and beauty. Hence it may easily be imagined, that the *Waldenses* and others, who ardently wished for a reformation of the church, and had separated themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Rome*, though every where exposed to the fury of the *inquisitors* and monks, yet increased from day to day, and baffled all the attempts that were made for their extirpation. Many of these poor people having observed, that great numbers of their party perished by the flames and other punishments, fled out of *Italy, France, and Germany*, into *Bohemia* and the adjacent countries, where they afterwards associated with the *Hussites*, and other separatists from the church of *Rome*.

The state of
exegeti-
cal or expla-
natory theo-
logy.

II. Nicholas Lyranus deservedly holds the first rank among the commentators on the Holy Scriptures, having explained the books, both of the Old and New Testament, in a manner far superior to the prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not well versed in the Greek, and was therefore much happier in his exposition of the Old Testament, than in that of the New [b]. All the other divines, who applied themselves to this kind of writing, were servile imitators of their predecessors. They either culled choice sentences from the writings of the more ancient doctors; or, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred writers to accommodate them to senses that were mysterious and abstruse. They who are desirous of being acquainted with this art, may have recourse to *Vitalis a Furno*, in his *Moral Mirror*

[b] Rich. Simon, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs de N. T.* p. 447. & *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 352.—Wadding, *Ann. Minor.* tom. v. p. 264.

of the Scriptures [c], or to Ludolphus of Saxony, in his *Pfalter Spiritualized* [d]. The philosophers, who commented upon the sacred writings, sometimes proposed subtle questions, drawn from what was called, in this century, Internal Science, and solved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

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III. The greatest part of the doctors of this century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philosophy, in expounding and teaching the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to have acquired some knowledge of those methods of instruction used in the western schools. Even to this day, the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of Thomas, and other capital writers of the scholastic class, which in this age were translated and introduced into the Greek church by Demetrius Cydonius, and others [e]. Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this subtle method, in which John Scotus, Durand of S. Portian, and William Occam, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of Scripture and tradition in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

The didactic divines.

IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not, however, prevent some wise and pious men among the Mystics, and in other sects, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philosophy matters of pure revelation. Many, as it appears, were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recall the youth designed for the ministry, to the study of

The adversaries of the school divines.
The Biblical divines.

[c] *Speculum Morale totius Scripturæ.*

[d] *Pfalterium juxta spiritualem Sensem.*

[e] Rich. Simon, *Creance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

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the scriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in some of the more famous universities, especially in those of *Paris* and *Oxford*, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the *philosophical* divines by those of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the *philosophical* legions, chiefly tutored by Dominicans and Franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in such a way, as really tended to overturn them, and fell into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety in flight; some had their writings publicly burned, and others were thrown into prison [f]. However, when these commotions were quelled, most of them returned, though with prudence and caution, to their former way of thinking, perplexed their adversaries by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

Contentions
among the
schoolmen.
The Scot-
ists and
Thomists.

V. It is remarkable, that the *scholastic* doctors, or *philosophical* theologists, far from agreeing

[f] See Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. passim.—In the year 1340, several opinions of the schoolmen, concerning the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266.—In the year 1347, M. Jo. de Mercuria and Nich. de Ultricuria were obliged to abjure their errors, p. 298. 308.—In 1348, one Simon was convicted of some horrible errors, p. 322.—The same fate, A. 1354. befel Guido of the Augustine order, p. 319. A. 1362, the like happened to one Louis, p. 374. to Jo. de Calore, p. 377. A. 1365, to Dion. Soulechat, p. 382. *Oxford* also had its share in transactions of this nature. See Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153. 183.

among

among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controversy was, in this century, supplied with copious accessions of fuel, by John Duns Scotus, a friar of the Franciscan order, who was extremely eminent for the subtilty of his genius, and who, animated against the Dominicans by a warm spirit of jealousy, had attacked and attempted to disprove several doctrines of Thomas Aquinas. Upon this, the Dominicans, taking the alarm, united from all quarters to defend their favourite doctor, whom they justly considered as the common leader of the scholastics; while the Franciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardour the cause of Scotus, whom they looked upon as a divine sage sent down from heaven to enlighten bewildered and erring mortals. Thus these powerful and flourishing orders were again divided; and hence originated the two famous sects, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, which, to this day, dispute the field of controversy in the Latin schools. The chief points about which they disagree are, the *Nature of the divine co-operation with the human will*, the *Measure of divine grace* that is necessary to salvation, the *Unity of form in man*, or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpose. We shall only observe, that what contributed most to exalt the reputation of Scotus, and to cover him with glory, was his demonstration and defence of what was called the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary* against the Dominicans, who entertained different notions of that point [g].

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated *Mystics*, resided and propagated their

The Mystics.

[g] See Wadding, tom. vi. p. 52.

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tenets in almost every part of *Europe*. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were Taulerus, Ruysbrockius, Sufo, and Gerard of Zutphen [b], who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, are failings common to them all. But there were also some senseless fanatics belonging to this party, who ran from one place to another, recommending a most unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they idly imagined the human mind would be transfused into the divine essence, and thus led their proselytes into a foolish kind of piety, that in too many cases bordered nearly upon licentiousness. The religious phrensy of these enthusiasts rose to such a height, as rendered them detestable to the sober sort of *Mystics*, who charged their followers to have no connections with them [i].

Moral writers.

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, as their spirit is nearly of the same kind with that of the authors whom we have already noticed; though it may be proper to

[b] Concerning these authors, see Petr. Poirer, *Biblioth. Mysticorum*; and Godofr. Arnold, *Historia et Descriptio Theol. Mystica*. Of Taulerus and Sufo, Echard treats expressly in his *Scriptor. Predicat.* tom. i. p. 653. 677. See also *Acta Sandor. Januar.* tom. ii. p. 652.

[i] Joh. Ruysbrockius inveighed bitterly against them, as appears from his *Works* published by Laur. Surius, p. 50. 378. and also from his treatise *de vera contemplatione*, cap. xviii. p. 608.

mention

mention two circumstances, by which the reader may ascertain the true state of this science. The first is, that about this time, more writers than in any former century made it their business to collect and solve, what they styled, *Cases of conscience*; by which Atesanus, an Italian, Monaldus, and Bartholomew of St. Concordia, acquired a reputation superior to that of any of their contemporaries. This kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the schools, since it taught people to quibble and wrangle, instead of forming them to a sound faith and a suitable practice. A second thing worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained, and their practice enforced, by allegories and comparisons of a new and whimsical kind, even by examples drawn from the natures, properties, and actions of the brute creation. These writers began, for instance, by explaining the nature and qualities of some particular animal, and then applied their description to human life and manners, to characterise the virtues and vices of moral agents. The most remarkable productions of this sort are Nieder's *Formicarius*; a treatise concerning *Bees*, by Thomas Brabantinus; dissertations upon *Beasts*, by Hugh of St. Victor, and a tract by Thomas Whalley, entitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized*.

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VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, in general, unequal to the glorious cause they undertook to support; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned Bradwardine, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious remarks, tending to confirm the truth of Christianity, in a *Book upon Providence*. The work

Controver-
sialists.

intituled,

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intituled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*, "or, Eye-salve of Faith against the Heretics," shews, that its author, Alvaro Pelagio, was a well-meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the subject in this performance. Nicholas de Lyra wrote against the Jews, as did also Porchetus Salvaticus, whose treatise, intituled, "The triumph of Faith," is chiefly borrowed from the writings of Raymond Martin. Both these writers are much inferior to Theophanes, whose "Book against the Jews, and his Harmony between the Old and New Testament," contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

State of the
controversy
between the
Greeks and
Latins.

IX. During this century, there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending that they might want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, Andronicus the Younger sent Balaam as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embassy was sent to Clement VI. for the same purpose, and, in 1356, a third was dispatched upon a like errand to Innocent VI. who resided at *Avignon*. Nor was this all; for, in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at *Rome* in order to negotiate this important matter, and was followed, in 1369, by the emperor himself, John Palæologus, who undertook a journey into *Italy*, and, in order to conciliate the friendship and good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff. But, notwithstanding these prudent and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks could

could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though several of them, from views of interest or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations [k].

X. In the year 1384, a furious controversy arose at *Paris*, between the university and the Dominican order. The author of it was John de Montefono, a native of *Arragon*, a Dominican friar and professor of divinity, who, pursuant to the decisions and doctrine of his order, publicly denied that the blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without any stain of original sin; and moreover asserted, that all who believed the *immaculate Conception* were enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occasioned by this proceeding would certainly have been soon compromised, had not John, in a public discourse delivered in 1387, revived this opinion with more violence than ever. For this reason the college of divines, and afterwards the whole university, condemned this, and some other tenets of Montefonus. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the university of *Paris*, principally induced thereto by the discourses of John Duns Scotus, had from the beginning almost of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy Virgin [l]. Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion John de Montefono, appealed from the sentence of the university to pope Cle-

The contention between the university of Paris and the Dominicans,

occasioned by Montefonus.

[k] See Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369.—Leo. Allatius, *De perpetua consensione eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 782.—Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. Baluze, *Vita Pontific. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 403. 772.

[l] See Wadding's *Annals*, tom. vi. p. 52. s.

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ment VII. at *Avignon*, and clamorously affirmed that St. Thomas himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But, before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of *Avignon*, went over to the party of Urban VI. who resided at *Rome*, and thus, during his absence, was excommunicated. Whether the pope approved the sentence of the university of *Paris*, we cannot say. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that the professor was condemned purely on account of his flight [m]; though there are many others who assert, that his opinion was also condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the validity of the academic sentence, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in the university before the year 1404 [n].

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

The alteration of the jubilee.

I. **W**E must confine ourselves to a general and superficial view of the alterations that were introduced into the ritual of the church during this century, since it cannot reasonably be expected that we should insist largely upon this subject within the narrow limits of such a work as this. A principal circumstance that strikes us

[m] See Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Predicator.* tom. i. 691.

[n] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 599. 618. 638.
—Steph. Baluzii *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521. tom. ii. p. 992.—Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 61.—Jac. de Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. p. 347.

here,

here, is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, Clement VI. in compliance with the request of the people of *Rome*, enacted that the *jubilee*, which Boniface VIII. had ordered to be celebrated in every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century [o]. In favour of this alteration he might have assigned a very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty, celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year. But Urban VI. Sixtus VI. and other popes, who ordered a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might have demanded sufficient reasons to justify this inconstancy.

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II. Innocent V. instituted festivals, sacred to the memory of the *lance* with which our Saviour's side was pierced, of the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns he wore at his death [p]. This, though evidently absurd, was nevertheless pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance and stupidity of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism and superstition of Benedict XII. who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of Christ's wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous interposition of the divine power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous fable. John XXII. besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions,

Festivals.

Prayers.

[o] Baluzii *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247. 287. 312. 387.—Muratori *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344. 481.

[p] See Jo. Henr. a Seelen, *Diff. de festo Lancee et Clavorum Christi*.—Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328. *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 417.

CENT. XIV. PART II. ordered Christians to add to their prayers, those words with which the angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

Controversies excited by the Quietists.

I. DURING some part of this century the *Hesychasts*, or as the Latins call them, the *Quietists*, gave great trouble to the Greek church. To assign the true source of it, we must observe, that Barlaam or Balaam, a native of *Calabria*, who was a monk of St. Basil, and afterwards bishop of *Gieracè* in *Calabria*, made a progress through *Greece* to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the *Hesychasts* of mount *Athos*, in *Thessaly*, who were the same with the Mystics, or more perfect monks, and who, by a long course of intense contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from tumult and perturbation. These *Quietists*, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors (who imagined that there was a celestial light concealed in the deepest recesses of the mind), used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immoveably fixed upon the middle region of the belly, or navel; and boasted, that, while they remained in this posture, they found, in effect, a *divine light* beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of

pleasure and delight [q]. To such as inquired what kind of *light* this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the *glory of God*, the same celestial radiance that surrounded Christ during his transfiguration on the mount. Balaam, entirely unacquainted with the customs and manners of the *Mystics*, looked upon all this as highly absurd and fanatical, and therefore styled the monks who adhered to this institution, *Maffalians* and *Euchites* [r], and also gave them the new

[q] We have no reason to be surpris'd at, and much less to disbelieve this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all those people in the eastern world, whether Christians, Mohammedans, or Pagans (who maintain the necessity of abstracting the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the same thing with the *contemplative* and *mystic life* among the Latins), that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who complies with this precept will be thrown into an ecstasy, in which, being united to God, he will see wonderful things, and be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is said of the *Siamese* monks and *Mystics* by Engelb Kämpfer, in his *History of Japan*, tom. i. p. 30. and also of those of *India*, in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily admit, that they who continue long in the above-mentioned posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural state, must be most singular and whimsical; so much the more, as the rule itself which prescribes the contemplation of a certain object as the means of arriving at a *vision of the Deity*, absolutely forbids all use of the faculty of reason during that ecstatic and sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflection, during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar to the eastern Quietists; the Latin Mystics observed the same rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. Upon a due examination of the subject, we may safely conclude, that the many surprising visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly destitute of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

[r] The *Maffalians* (so called from a Hebrew word, which signifies *prayer*, as *Euchites*, from a Greek word of the same signification) formed themselves into a sect, during the fourth cen-

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The state of
the contro-
versy be-
tween the
Hesychasts
and Balaam-
ites.

new name of *Umbilicani* [s]. On the other hand, Gregory Palamas, archbishop of *Thessalonica*, defended the cause of these monks against Balaam [t].

II. In order to put an end to this dissension, a council was convoked at *Constantinople* in the year 1341, in which the emperor himself, Andronicus the younger, and the patriarch, presided. Here Palamas and the monks triumphed over Balaam, who was condemned by the council; whereupon he left *Greece*, and returned to *Italy*. Not long after this, another monk, named Gregory Acindynus, renewed the controversy, and, in opposition to the opinion maintained by Palamas, denied that God dwelt in an eternal light distinct from his essence, as also that such a light was beheld by the disciples on mount *Tabor*. This dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, but turned upon the light seen at mount *Tabor*, and also upon the nature and residence of the Deity. Nevertheless, he was condemned as a follower of Balaam, in another council holden at *Constantinople*. Many assemblies were convened about this affair; but the most remarkable of them all, was that of the year 1351, in which the Balaamites and their adherents received such a fatal wound, in consequence of the severe decrees enacted against them, that they were forced to yield, and leave the victory to Palamas. This prelate maintained, that God was encircled, as it were, with an *eternal light*, which might be styled his *energy* or *operation*, and was distinct from his nature and essence; and that he favoured the three disciples

tury, under the reign of Constantius. Their tenets resembled those of the Quietists in several respects.

[s] Ομφαλῶνχοι.

[t] For an account of these two famous men, Balaam and Gregory Palamas, see, in preference to all other writers, Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. x. p. 427. and 454.

W

with a view of this light upon mount *Tabor*. Hence he concluded that this divine *operation* was really different from the *substance* of the Deity; and farther, that no being could possibly partake of the divine *substance* or *essence*, but that finite natures might possess a share of his divine light, or *operation*. The Balaamites, on the contrary, denied these positions, affirming, that the properties and operations of the Deity were not different from his *essence*, and that there was really no difference between the attributes and essence of God, considered in themselves, but only in our conceptions of them, and reasonings upon them [u].

III. In the Latin church the *inquisitors*, those active ministers and executioners of papal justice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those sects who opposed the religion of *Rome*, even the *Waldenses*, the *Catharists*, the *Apostolists*, and others; so that the history of these times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burned or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by those unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the *inquisitors* and bishops so much employment of this sanguinary kind, as the *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit*, who went under the

The severity
of the in-
quisition in the
western
world.

[u] See Jo. Cantacuzenus, *Hist.* lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 263, and the observations of Gregor. Pontanus; also Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist. Byzant.* lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277, and in many other places. But these two writers disagree in several circumstances. Many materials relative to this controversy are yet unpublished (see Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150. 174. 404.) Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well-digested history of it. In the mean time, the reader may consult Leo Allatius, *de perpetua consensione Orient. et Occid. ecclesie*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824.—Henr. Canissi *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 361.—Dion Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 76.—Steph. de Altimura, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor.* p. 381, &c.

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common name of *Beghards* and *Beguines* in *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon and sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and sensible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God, they were greatly esteemed by many plain, well-meaning persons, whose piety and simplicity were deceived by a profession so seducing; and thus they made many converts to their opinions. It was on this account that such numbers of this turn and disposition perished in the flames of persecution during this century in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*.

Severe edicts
against the
Catharists,
Beghards,
Beguines,
&c.

IV. This sect was most numerous in the cities of *Germany* that lay upon the *Rhine*, especially at *Cologne*; which circumstance induced Henry I. archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306 [w]; an example that was soon followed by the bishops of *Mentz*, *Treves*, *Worms*, and *Straßburg* [x]. And as there were some subtle acute men belonging to this party, that eminently keen logician, John Duns Scotus [y], was sent to *Cologne*, in the year 1308, to dispute against them, and to vanquish them by dint of syllogism. In 1310, the famous Margaret Porretta, who made such a shining figure in this sect, was committed to the flames at *Paris* with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in an elaborate treatise, "That the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from the restraint of every law, and may freely gratify all its natural appetites, without contracting

[w] See *Statuta Colonienſia*, published in 4to. at *Cologne*, A. D. 1554. p. 58.

[x] Johannes, *apud Scriptores rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298.—Martenne, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250.

[y] Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108.

any guilt" [z]. Pope Clement V. exasperated by this and other instances of the pernicious fanaticism that prevailed among this sect, published, in a general council at *Vienna*, A. D. 1311, a special constitution against the *Beghards* and *Beguines* of *Germany*. And though the edict only mentions imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that the Mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit are the persons principally intended [a]. Clement, in the same council, issued another constitution, by which he suppressed another and a very different sort of *Beguines* [b], who had hitherto been considered as a lawful and regular society, and lived in fixed habitations appropriated to their order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics above-mentioned. For the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit had insinuated themselves into the greatest part of the convents of the *Beguines*, where they inculcated with great success their mysterious and sublime system of religion to these simple women. And these credulous women were no sooner initiated into this brilliant and chimerical system, than they were captivated with its delusive charms, and babbled, in the most absurd and impious manner, concerning the true worship of the Deity [c].

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V. The Brethren of the Free Spirit, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed

Nevertheless, the Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit could not be extirpated.

[z] Luc. Dacherii *Spicil. veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 63.—J. Bale, *de Scriptor. Britan. Centur.* iv. n. 88. p. 367. published in folio, at *Basil*, A. D. 1557.

[a] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas*, lib. v. tit. iii. *de Hereticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

[b] *In Jure Canonico inter Clementinas*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *de religiosis domibus*, cap. i. p. 1075. edit. Böhmér.

[c] For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the *Beguines* into those of the right and approved class, and those of the sublime and free spirit; the former of whom adhered to the public religion, while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the *Mystics*.

the

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the design of removing from *Upper Germany* into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, that *Westphalia* was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This tranquillity was produced by the provident measures of Henry, archbishop of *Cologne*, who, having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into *Westphalia*. About the same time the *Beghards* [d] upon the *Rhine*, lost their chief leader and champion, Walter, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from *Mentz* to *Cologne*, where he was apprehended and burned [e].
The

[d] By *Beghards*, here, Dr. Mosheim means particularly the *Brethren of the Free Spirit*, who frequently passed under this denomination.

[e] Jo. Trithemii *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 155.—Schaten, *Annal. Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous Walter, whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this, and more, from the following words of Trithemius. *But that same Walter Lobareus* (so it stands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been *Lolbardus*; especially as Trithemius, according to the custom of his time, frequently uses this word when treating of the sects that dissented from the church) *a native of Holland, was not well versed in the Latin tongue.* I say, from this short passage, learned men have concluded that Walter's surname was *Lolbard*; whence, as from its founder and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of *Lollards*. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from other passages of Trithemius, that *Lolbard* was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics who concealed the poison of error under the appearance of piety. Trithemius, speaking of the very same man, in a preceding passage, calls him *the head of the Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*: but these terms were very extensive, including people of various sects. This Walter embraced the opi-
nions

The death of this person was highly detrimental to the affairs of the *Brethren of the Free Spirit*: it did not, however, ruin their cause, or extirpate their sect. For it not only appears from innumerable testimonies, that, for a long time afterwards, they held their private assemblies at *Cologne*, and in many other parts of *Germany*, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number Henry Aycardus, or Eccard, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a Dominican, and also the superior of that order in *Saxony*; a man of a subtle genius, and one who had acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity at *Paris* [f]. In the year 1330, pope John XXII. endeavoured to suppress this obstinate sect by a new and severe constitution, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* are marked out in a more distinct and accurate manner than in the *Clementina* [g]. But this attempt was fruitless; the disorder continued, and was combated both by the inquisitors and bishops in most parts of *Europe* to the end of this century.

VI. The *Clementina*, or constitution of the council of *Vienne* against the *Beguines*, or the

The persecution of the *Beguines*, and its tragical conclusion.

nions of the *Mystics*, and was the principal doctor among those *Brethren of the free spirit*, who lived on the banks of the *Rhine*.

[f] See Echardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 507.—Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1329. sect. lxx. p. 389.

[g.] This new constitution was never published entire. It began with the following words: *In agro Dominico; et ubi inscribed thus, contra singularia, dubia, suspecta, et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghine prædicant et observant.* We are favoured with a summary of it by Helm. Cornerus in Eccardi *Corp. Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035. It is also mentioned by Paul Langius, in *Chronico Citiænsi*, apud Jo. Pistorii *Scriptores rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

female

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female societies that lived together in fixed habitations, under a common rule of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by Luther, and ruined the cause both of the *Beguines* and *Beghards* in many places. For though the pope, in his last *constitution*, had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren of the Free Spirit*; yet the vast number of enemies which the *Beguines* and *Beghards* had, partly among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the priests and monks, took a handle from the *Clementina* to molest the *Beguines* in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults, and to involve the *Beghards* in the like persecution. John XXII. afforded the *Beguines* some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324, by means of a special *constitution*, in which he gave a favourable explication of the *Clementina*, and ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the innocent *Beguines* should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On the other hand, the *Beguines*, in hopes of disappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. Francis, and of the Augustines. Yet all these measures in their favour could not prevent the loss both of their reputation and substance; for from this time they were oppressed in several provinces by the magistrates, the clergy, and the many who had

eye upon their

tures, and were extremely eager to divide the spoil [b].

VII. Some years before the middle of this century, while *Germany* and many other parts of *Europe* were distressed with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a sect forgotten almost every where, and especially in *Germany*, made their appearance anew, and, rambling through many provinces, occasioned great disturbances. These new *Flagellants*, whose enthusiasm infected every rank, sect, and age, were much worse than the old ones. They not only supposed that God might be prevailed upon to shew mercy to those who underwent voluntary punishments, but propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion. They held, among other things, "That flagellation was of equal virtue with baptism, and the other sacraments: that it would procure from God the forgiveness of all sins, without the merits of Jesus Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and that a new law, enjoining the baptism of blood, to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place," with other tenets more or less enormous than these; whereupon Clement VII. thundered out anathemas against the Flagellants, who were burned by the *inquisitors* in several places. It was, however, found as

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The sect of
the Flagel-
lants ap-
pears again.

[b]. I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long persecution of the *Beguines*. But the most copious of all the writers who have published any thing upon this subject (especially if we consider his account of the persecution at *Basil*, and of *Mulbergius*, the most inveterate enemy of the *Beguines*), is Christian Wurtsen, or Urstifus, in his *Chronicon Basiliense*, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 201. published in folio, at *Basil*, 1580. There are now in my hands, and also in many libraries, manuscript tracts of this celebrated *Mulbergius*, written against the *Beguines* in the following century.

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The sect of
the Dan-
cers.

difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics [i].

VIII. Directly the reverse of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which, in the year 1373, arose at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, whence it spread through the district of *Liege*, *Hainault*, and other parts of *Flanders*. It was customary among the fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly as well as in private, suddenly to begin dancing, and, holding each other's hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that, during these intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions. Like the *Flagellants*, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature of this new phrensy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly, the priests of *Liege* endeavoured to cast out the devils which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense; and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms [k].

IX. The

[i] See Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160. 316. & *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 50.—Matthæi *Analec̃ta vet. avi.* tom. i. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 241. tom. iv. p. 145.—Herm. Gygii *Flores tempor.* p. 139.

[k] See Baluzii *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485.—Matthæi *Analec̃ta vet. avi.* tom. i. p. 51. where we find the following passage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obscure account of the sect in question: *A. 1374. Gingen de Dancers.*

IX. The most heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century (if the enormities with which they stand charged be true), were the *Knights Templars*, who had been established in *Palestine* about two hundred years before this period, and who were represented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This was Philip the Fair, an avaricious, vindictive, and turbulent prince, who loudly complained to Clement V. of the opinions and conduct of the *Templars*. The pope, though at first unwilling to proceed against them, was under a necessity of complying with the king's desire; so that, in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for some time afterwards, all the knights, who were dispersed throughout *Europe*, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguished by the council of *Vienne*. Of the rich revenues they possessed, a part was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the knights of St. John, now of *Malta*, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions lay.

X. The *Knights Templars*, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a set of men who insulted the majesty of God, turned into derision the gos-

Dancers, and then in Latin, *Gens impacata cadit, cruciata saluat*. The French *convulsionists* (or prophets), who, in our age, were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly resembled these brethren and sister dancers.

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The
Knights
Templars
extirpated.

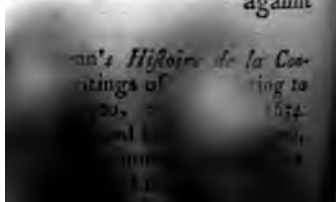
The intolerable impiety of the Knights Templars is assigned as the cause of this severity.

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PART II.

A reflection
concerning
the crimes
laid to their
charge.

pel of Christ, and trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed, that candidates, upon their admission to this order, were commanded to spit, as a mark of contempt, upon an image of Christ; and that, after admission, they were bound to worship either a cat, or wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed, that among them, the odious and unnatural act of sodomy was a matter of obligation; that they committed to the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawless amours; and added, to these, other crimes too horrible to be mentioned, or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allowed that in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wickedness; but that the *Templars* in general were thus enormously corrupt, is so far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many of the accusations advanced against them, flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order solemnly avowed their innocence, while languishing under the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath; it would seem probable, that Philip set on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view of gratifying his avarice, and glutting his resentment against the *Templars* [1], and especially against

[1] See the *Ad's* annexed to the *denunciation des Templiers*, in the history of *France*, pt. 1. Another edition of this book was published at *Brussels*, in 1685; another at *Brussels*, in 1751, the most valuable of which, by which every diligent and accurate reader may see that the *Templars* were greatly



against their grand master, who had highly offended him.

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Historia Templariorum, Amstelod. 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has an opportunity, he would do well to consult Steph. Baluzius, *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8. 11, &c. Ger. du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king Philip's indelible hatred against the Templars, was, that in his quarrel with Boniface VIII. the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence which Philip could never pardon.

THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

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XV.
PART I.

The Moors
and Jews
converted
in Spain by
force.

I. THE new subjects, that were added to the kingdom of Christ in this century, are altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it by applying it to those who made an external and insincere profession of Christianity. Ferdinand, surnamed the *Catholic*, by the conquest of *Granada*, in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors or Saracens in *Spain*. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissimulated their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the Gospel of Christ [a]; and it is well known that, to this very day, there are both in *Spain* and *Portugal* a great number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity, to secure them against the rage of

[a] J. de Ferreras, *Hist. Generale d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 123. 132, &c.

persecution,

persecution, and to advance their worldly interests. The myriads of Saracens, that remained in *Spain* after the dissolution of their government, were at first solicited by exhortations and entreaties to embrace the Gospel. When these gentle methods proved ineffectual to bring about their conversion, the famous Ximenes, archbishop of *Toledo*, and prime minister of the kingdom, judged it expedient to try the force of the secular arm, in order to accomplish that salutary purpose. But even this rigorous measure was without the desired effect: the greatest part of the Mohammedans persisted, with astonishing obstinacy, in their fervent attachment to their voluptuous prophet [b].

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PART I.

II. The light of the Gospel was also carried in this century among the Samoetæ [in *Poland*] and the neighbouring nations, but with less fruit than was expected [c]. Towards the conclusion of this age, the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardour and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as *Ethiopia* and the *Indies*. In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, by discovering the islands of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*, opened a passage into *America* [d]; and, after him, Americus Vesputius, a citizen of *Florence*, landed on the continent of that vast region [e]. The new Argonauts, who discovered these nations that had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*, deemed it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of this pious nature was made by the Portuguese

The Samoetæ and Indians converted.

[b] Esprit Mechier, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89.—Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 8.

[c] Jo. Henry Hottinger, *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sac.* xv. p. 856.

[d] See Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingue*, tome i. p. 64.

[e] See the *Life of Americus Vesputius*, written in Italian, by the learned Angèlo Maria Bandini.

CENT. among those Africans, who inhabit the kingdom
 XV. of *Congo*, and who, together with their mo-
 PART I. narch, were suddenly converted to the Romish
 faith, in the year 1491 [f]. But what must we
 think of a conversion effected with such astonishing
 rapidity, and of a people who, at once, without
 hesitation, abandon their inveterate prejudices?
 Has not such a conversion, a ridiculous, or rather
 an afflictive aspect? After this religious revolution
 in *Africa*, Alexander VI. gave a rare specimen of
 papal presumption, in dividing *America* between the
 Portuguese and Spaniards, but shewed at the
 same time his zeal for the propagation of the
 Gospel, by the ardour with which he recommend-
 ed, to these two nations, the instruction and con-
 version of the Americans, both in the isles and on
 the continent of that immense region [g]. In con-
 sequence of this exhortation of the pontiff, a great
 number of Franciscans and Dominicans were sent
 into those countries, to enlighten the darkness of
 their inhabitants; and the success of the mission is
 abundantly known [h].

[f] Labat, *Relation de l'Ethiopie Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366.
 —Jof. Franc Lafitau. *Histoire des decouvertes des Portugais
 dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 72.

[g] See the Bull itself, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i.
 p. 466.

[h] See Thom. Maria Mamachius, *Orig. et Antiquitat. Chris-
 tian.* tom. ii. p. 326. where we have an account of the gra-
 dual introduction of the Christian religion into *America*.—See
 also Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. xv. p. 10.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the following events that happened in
the month of May, 1757.

IN the first month of the year 1757, the Company sent out a party of 1000 men, under the command of Mr. Clive, to the battle of Plassey, where they defeated the army of the Nawab of Bengal, and the British became the masters of the province. This was the first time that the British had ever defeated a large army in India. The Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daulah, was a weak and ambitious man, who had been deposed by the British in 1756. He had been replaced by Mir Jafar, who was a British agent. Mir Jafar had been deposed by the British in 1756, and the British had been the masters of the province since then. The Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Daulah, was a weak and ambitious man, who had been deposed by the British in 1756. He had been replaced by Mir Jafar, who was a British agent. Mir Jafar had been deposed by the British in 1756, and the British had been the masters of the province since then.

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and a formidable warrior, had made themselves masters of *Constantinople*, in the year 1453, the cause of Christianity received a blow, from which it has not yet recovered. Its adherents in these parts had no resources left, which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors; nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance which rushed in with the triumphant arms of the Moslem prince, and overspread *Greece* with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of *Constantinople* by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms [*k*]. Hence it was, that in the former, the public profession of the Gospel was prohibited, and every vestige of Christianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monasteries during the whole course of this century, and to worship God according to the precepts of the Gospel, and the dictates of their consciences. This valuable liberty was, indeed, considerably diminished in the reign of Selim I. and the Christian worship was loaded with severe and despotical restrictions [*l*]. The outward form of the Christian church was not, indeed, either changed or destroyed by the Turks; but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength was undermined, and it was gradually attenuated to a mere shadow under their tyrannic empire. Pope Pius II. wrote a warm and urgent letter to Mohammed II. to persuade that prince to profess the Gospel; but this letter is equally destitute of piety and prudence [*m*].

✂ [*k*] In this account Dr. Mosheim has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of the conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.

[*l*] Demet. Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tome i. p. 11. 46. 54.

[*m*] *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique de Bayle*.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **T**HE Grecian and Oriental Muses languished under the despotic yoke of the Mohammedans; their voices were mute, and their harps unstrung. The republic of letters had a quite different aspect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with zeal and spirit, under the most auspicious encouragement, and recovered their ancient lustre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom Nicholas V. deserves an eminent and distinguished rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were also nobly exerted in this excellent cause, and animated men of learning and genius to display their talents. The illustrious family of the Medici in Italy [n], Alphonso VI. king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the house of Arragon [o], acquired immortal re-

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Learning
flourishes
among the
Latins.

[n] We have a full account of the obligations of the republic of letters to the family of Medici, in a valuable work of Joseph Bianchini de Prato, *dei gran Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de' Medici, Prætorii delle Lettere e delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici*, published in folio at Venice, in 1741.

[o] See Giamonte, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 500. 628.—*Histor. Patrum Italic. Dida et Fecia memorabilia Alphonsi I. deus edita a Jo. Ger. Meuschenio, Vit. Erud. Viror. tom. ii. p. 1.*

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known by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned, and their ardent zeal for the advancement of science. Under their auspices, or in consequence of their example, many academies were founded in *Germany, France, and Italy*, libraries were collected at a prodigious expence, and honours and rewards were lavished on the studious youth, to animate their industry by the views of interest and the desire of glory. To all these happy circumstances, in favour of the sciences, was now added an admirable discovery, which contributed as much as any thing else, to their propagation, I mean the *art of Printing* (first with wooden, and afterwards with metal types), which was invented about the year 1440, at *Mentz*, by John Guttenberg. By the success of this incomparable art, the productions of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this interesting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now spread abroad with facility, and perused by many, who could never have had access to them under their primitive form [*p*]. The perusal of these noble

✂ [*p*] Dr. Mosheim decides here, that Guttenberg of Mentz was the inventor of the art of printing; but this notion is opposed with zeal by several men of learning. Of the many treatises that have been published upon this subject, not one is composed with greater erudition and judgment than that of professor Schoepflin, of *Straßbourg*, in which the learned author undertakes to prove that the art of printing, by the means of letters engraven on plates of wood, was invented at *Haerlem*, by Coffer; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was the discovery of John Guttenberg, a discovery made during his residence at *Straßbourg*; and that the still more perfect manner of printing with types of metal cast in a mould, was the contrivance of John Schoeffer, and was first practised at *Mentz*. This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions of Marchand, Fournier, and other writers, was published in the year 1760, at *Straßbourg*, under the following title: *Jo. Danielis Schoepflini Consil. Reg. ac Franciæ Historiogr. Vindiciæ Typographicæ* *, &c.

✂ * So this note stands in the first edition of this History, in 4to. Since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. Gerard Meerman pensionary

noble compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the same way [q].

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II. The ruin of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the west. For, after the reduction of *Constantinople*, the most eminent of the Greek *Litterati* passed into *Italy*, and were thence dispersed into the other countries of *Europe*, where, to gain subsistence, these venerable exiles instructed the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the western world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the sciences. Hence it was, that every distinguished city and university possessed one or more of these learned Greeks, who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits [r]. But they received no where such encouraging marks of protection and esteem as in *Italy*, where they were honoured in a singular manner in various cities, and were more especially distinguished by the family of Medici, whose liberality to the learned seemed to have no bounds. It was consequently in *Italy* that these ingenious fugitives were most numerous;

The calamities of the Greeks conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.

[q] Mich. Maittaire, *Annales Typographici*.—Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, Haye, 1742.

[r] Jo. Henr. Maii *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11 19. 28. 152. 165.—Casp. Barthius *ad Statium*, tom. ii. p. 1008.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad.* tom. v. p. 692.

pensionary of Rotterdam, has published his laborious and interesting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing, under the following title, "Origines Typographice," a work which sets this matter in its true light, by making certain distinctions unknown to the writers who treated this subject before him. According to the hypothesis of this learned writer, his hypothesis supported by irrefragable proofs, Laurent Costler, of Harlem, invented the moveable wooden types—Gensfleisch and Gutenberg carved metallic types at Mentz, which, though superior to the former, were still imperfect, because often unequal.—Schœffer perfected the invention, at Stralbourg, by casting the types in an iron mould, or matrix, engraven with a punchon. Thus the question is decided. Costler is evidently the inventor of printing; the others improved the art, or rendered it more perfect.

and

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Philology,
poetry, and
languages
cultivated.

and hence that country became, in some measure, the centre of the arts and sciences, and the general rendezvous of all who were ambitious of literary glory [s].

III. The learned men, who adorned at this time the various provinces of *Italy*, were principally employed in publishing accurate and elegant editions of the Greek and Latin classics, in illustrating these authors with useful commentaries, in studying them as their models, both in poetry and prose, and in throwing light upon the precious remains of antiquity, that were discovered from day to day. In all these branches of literature, many arrived at such degrees of excellence, as it is almost impossible to surpass, and extremely difficult to equal. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of *Paris* there was now a public professor, not only of the Greek, but also of the Hebrew tongue [t]; and in *Spain* and *Italy* the study of that language, and of Oriental learning and antiquities in general, was pursued with the greatest success [u]. John Reuchlin, otherwise called Capuion, and Trithemius, who had made an extraordinary progress, both in the study of the languages and of the sciences, were the restorers of solid learning among the *Germans* [w].

[s] For a farther account of this interesting period of the history of learning, the reader may consult the learned work of Humphr. Hody, *de Græcis illustribus literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*, published in 8vo, at *Leipsic*, in the year 1750; to which may be added, Sam. Battierii *Oratio de instauratoribus Græcarum literarum*, published in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163.

[t] R. Simon, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 502. Boulay, *Hist. Paris.* tom. v. p. 852.

[u] Pauli Colomæii *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hisp. Orientalis*, p. 212.

[w] R. Simon, *Lettres Choies*, tome i. p. 13. 140.

Latin poetry was revived by Antony of *Palermo*, who excited a spirit of emulation among the favourites of the Muses, and had many followers in that sublime art [x]; while Cyriac of *Ancona*, by his own example, introduced a taste for coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious monuments of antiquity, of which he himself made a large collection in *Italy* [y].

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IV. It is not necessary to give here a peculiar and minute account of the other branches of literature that flourished in this century; nevertheless, the state of philosophy deserves a moment's attention. Before the arrival of the Greeks in *Italy*, Aristotle reigned there without a rival, and captivated, as it were by a sort of enchantment, all without exception, whose genius led them to philosophical enquiries. The veneration that was shewn him, degenerated into a foolish and extravagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he was loaded, surpassed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters so far as to compare him with the respectable precursor of the Messiah [z]. This violent passion for the Stagirite was however abated, or rather was rendered less general, by the influence which the Grecian sages, and particularly Gemistius Pletho, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentious and subtle doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild and divine wisdom of Plato. It was in the year 1439, about the time

The state of
the Aristot-
elian and
Platonic
philosophy.

[x] *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique de Bayle.*

[y] See the *Itinerarium* of Cyriac of *Ancona*, published at *Florence* in the year 1742, in 8vo, by Mr. Laurence Melius, from the original manuscript, together with a preface, annotations, and several letters of this learned man, who may be considered as the first antiquary that appeared in *Europe*.—See also Leonardo Aretino, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

Aug. Henmanni *Acta Philosophorum*,

of

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of the famous council of Florence, that this revolution happened in the empire of philosophy. Several illustrious personages among the Latins, charmed with the sublime sentiments and doctrines of Plato, propagated them among the studious youth, and particularly among those of a certain rank and figure. The most eminent patron of this divine philosophy, as it was termed by its votaries, was Cosmo de Medici, who had no sooner heard the lectures of Pletho, than he formed the design of founding a Platonic academy at Florence. For this purpose, he ordered Marsilius Ficinus, the son of his first physician, to be carefully instructed in the doctrines of the Athenian sage, and, in general, in the language and philology of the Greeks, that he might translate into Latin the productions of the most renowned Platonists. Ficinus answered well the expectations, and executed the intentions of his illustrious patron, by translating successively into the Latin language, the celebrated works of Hermes Trismegistus, Plotinus, and Plato. The same excellent prince encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his protection, many learned men, such as Ambrose of Camaldoli, Leonardo Bruno, Poggio and others, to undertake works of a like nature, that the Latin literature might be enriched with translations of the best Greek writers. The consequence of all this was, that two philosophical sects arose in Italy, who debated for a long time (with the warmest animosity in a multitude of learned and contentious productions) this important question, which was the greatest philosopher, Aristotle or Plato [a].

V. Between

[a] Boivin, dans *l'Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, tome iv. p. 381.—Launoy, de *varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 225.—Leo Allatius, de *Georgiis*, p. 391.

V. Between these opposite factions some eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belonged Johannes Picus de Mirandola, Bessarion, Hermolaus Barbarus, and others of less renown, who, indeed, considered Plato as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer Aristotle to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching, and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which Ammonius was the original founder [6]. This sect was, for a long time, regarded with the utmost veneration, particularly among the mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But, after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflection or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

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The Platon-
istic Syncre-
tism.

—La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384.—Joseph Bianchini, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of Medici, which we mentioned in note (n).—Bruckeri *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

☞ It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy: the principal question was, which system was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity? And here the Platonic certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by Pletho and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of Aristotle lead directly to atheism.

[6] See Bessarion's Letter in the *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tome v. p. 456.—Thomassius, de *Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus ejus*, p. 340.

VI. Their

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The fol-
lowers of
Aristotle
maintain
their supe-
riority.

VI. Their system of philosophy was, however, much less pernicious than that of the Aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority in *Italy*, and instructed the youth in all the public schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and more especially the followers of Averroes (who maintained that all the human race were animated by one common soul) imperceptibly sapped the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained sentiments very little, if at all, different from that impious pantheistical system, which confounds the Deity with the universe, and acknowledges but one self-existent being, composed of *infinite matter* and *infinite intelligence*. Among this class of sophists the most eminent was Peter Pomponace, a native of *Mantua*, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant enterprising spirit, who, notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his writings (many of which are yet extant) to undermine the principles, and corrupt the doctrines of religion [c], was almost universally followed by the professors of philosophy, in the Italian academies. These intricate doctors did not, however, escape the notice of the inquisitors, who, alarmed both by the rapid progress and dangerous tendency of their metaphysical notions, took cognizance of them, and called the Aristotelians to give an account of their principles. The latter, tempering their courage with craft, had recourse to a mean and perfidious stratagem to extricate themselves from this embarrassing trial. They pretended to establish a wide distinction between philosophical and theological truth; and maintaining that their sentiments were *philosophically true*, and conformable to right reason, they allowed them to be deemed *theologically false*, and contrary to

[c] See the very learned Brucker's *Historia C. phie*, tom. iv.

the declarations of the Gospel. This miserable and impudent subterfuge was condemned and prohibited in the following century, by Leo X. in a council which he held at the Lateran.

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VII. The Realists and Nominalists continued their disputes in France and Germany with more vigour and animosity than ever; and, finding reason and argument but feeble weapons, they had recourse to mutual invectives and accusations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a strange method surely, of deciding a metaphysical question! The contest was not only warm, but was very general in its extent; for it infected, almost without exception, the French and German colleges. In most places, however, the Realists maintained a manifest superiority over the Nominalists, to whom they also gave the appellation of Terminists [d]. While the famous Gerson and the most eminent of his disciples were living, the Nominalists were in high esteem and credit in the university of Paris. But, upon the death of these powerful and respectable patrons, the scene was changed to their disadvantage. In the year 1473, Louis XI. by the instigation of his confessor the bishop of Avranches, issued a severe edict against the doctrines of the Nominalists, and ordered all their writings to be seized, and secured in a sort of imprisonment, that they might not be perused by the people [e]. But the same monarch mitigated this edict in the following year, and permitted some of the books of that sect to be de-

The controversy between the Realists and Nominalists continued.

[d] See Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophia*, tom. iii. p. 904.—Jo. Salaberti *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i.—Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 531.—Argentre, *Collectio Supplementor. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220.

[e] Naude's *Additions à l'Histoire de Louis XI* p. 203.—*Bayle, Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 678. 705. *Lau- Gymnas. Navar.* tom. iv. op. part I.

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livered from their confinement [f]. In 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the *Nominalists* and their writings, but also restored that philosophical sect to its former authority and lustre in the university [g].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its forms of government, during this century.

The vices of
the clergy.

I. **T**HE most eminent writers of this century unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the Christian church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and, indeed, among all the ecclesiastical orders, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the sharpness of their censures and of their complaints. The rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and in the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were even obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, these bold censors, who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was scarcely

[f] Boulay, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 710.

[g] The proofs of this we find in Salabert's *Philosophie Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104.—See also Boulay, tom. v. p. 739. 747.

any thing found, either in its visible head or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Affairs, in short, were brought to such a pass, that those were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, having the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervor against the court of *Rome*, its lordly pontiff, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

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II. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, Boniface IX. who remained at *Rome*, and Benedict XIII. who resided at *Avignon*. Upon the death of the former, the cardinals of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, Cosmo de Meliorati, who assumed the name of Innocent VII. [b], and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, Angelo Corrario, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation was however formed, and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step should be deemed necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but both of them scandalously violated this

The great
western
schism
fomented and
continued

[b] Besides the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of Innocent VII. see Leon. Aretin. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 8. 19. 21. lib. ii. p. 30. et Colluc. *Salutat. Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1. 18. edit. *Florent.*—We have also an account of the pontificate of Gregory, in the *Epistles* of the same Aretin, lib. ii. iii. p. 32. ep. vii. p. 30. 41. 51. lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54. Jo. Lami *Delicia Eruditum*, tom. x. p. 494.

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solemn obligation. Benedict, besieged in Avignon by the king of France, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into Catalonia, his native country, and afterwards to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cause, seeing themselves deserted by their pope, went over to the other side, and, joining publicly with the cardinals who supported Gregory, they agreed together to assemble a council at Pisa on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was generally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings, indeed, were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced, on the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of *one* pontiff in their place. The election took place on the 25th of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known in the papal list by the name of Alexander V. [1]; but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. Benedict held a council at Perpignan; and Gregory assembled

[1] See L'Enfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to, at Amsterdam, in the year 1724.—Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—Bossuet, *Defensio Decret. Gallicani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

one near *Aquileia*, in the district of *Friuli*. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians [*k*], made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of *Aquileia*, arrived at *Caieta*, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of *Naples*, and, in 1412, fled thence to *Rimini*.

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III. Thus was the Christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. Alexander V. who had been elected pontiff at the council of *Pisa*, died at *Bologna* in 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by choosing, as his successor, Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, destitute of all principles both of religion and probity, who assumed the title of John XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations among whom the flame raged. Hence it was that the emperor Sigismund, the king of *France*, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expence, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy

The council
of Constance
assembled by
the emperor
Sigismund.

[*k*] He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch Antony Panciarni, and putting Antony du Pont, the bishop of *Concordia*, in his place.

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might be examined, and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at *Constance*, in the year 1414, by John XXIII. who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of Sigismund, and also from an expectation, that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this famous council, which was also honoured with the presence of the emperor, of a great number of German princes, and of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy [1].

The design
and issue of
this grand
council.

IV. The great purpose that was aimed at in the convocation of this grand assembly, was the healing of the schism that had so long rent the papacy: and this purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly declared, in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church; and the same decrees vindicated and maintained, in the most effectual

[1] The *Acts* of this famous council were published in six volumes in folio, at *Frankfort*, in the year 1700, by Herman von der Hardt. This collection, however, is imperfect, notwithstanding the pains that it cost the laborious editor. Many of the *Acts* are omitted, and a great number of pieces are introduced which by no means deserve a place. The history of this council by L'Enfant is composed with great accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a second edition at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto; the first was published in 1714. The supplement that was given to this history by Bourgeois de Chastenot, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled, 'Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schisme.'

manner,

manner, the authority of councils [m]. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of John, who, during the twelfth session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate [n], on account of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge, and more especially for the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement which he had taken about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In the same year (1415), Gregory sent Charles de Malatesta to the council to make, in his name, a solemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, Benedict was deposed by a solemn resolution of the council [o], and Otto de Colonna raised, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of Martin V. Benedict, who still resided at *Perpignan*, was far from being disposed to submit either to the decree of the council which deposed him, or to the determination of the cardinals with respect to his successor. On the contrary, he persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named Giles Munoz, was chosen pope

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[m] For an account of these two famous decrees, which set such wide limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, see Natalis Alexand. *Hist. Eccl. Sac.* xv. Diff. iv. — Bossuet, *Defens. Sententia Cleri Gallicani de Potest. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 2. 23. L'Éclat, *Differt. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson et le Concile de Constance*, which is subjoined to his history of that council.

[n] On the 27th of May, 1415.

[o] On the 26th of July, 1417.

CENT in his place by two cardinals, under the auspicious
 XV. patronage of Alphonso, king of Sicily, and adopted
 PART II. the title of Clement VIII.; but this sorry pontiff,
 in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pre-
 tensions to the papacy, and to leave the government
 of the church to Martin V.

John Huf. V. If, from the measures that were taken in
 this council to check the lordly arrogance of the
 Roman pontiffs, we turn our eyes to the proceed-
 ings against those who were called *heretics*,
 we shall observe in this new scene nothing
 worthy of applause, but several things, on
 the contrary, that can only excite our indig-
 nation, and which no pretext, no consideration,
 can render excusable. Before the meeting of this
 council, there were great commotions raised in se-
 veral parts of *Europe*, and more especially in *Bo-
 hemia*, concerning religious matters. One of the
 persons that gave occasion to these disputes was
 John Hufs, who lived at *Prague* in the highest
 reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his
 manners, and the purity of his doctrine, who was
 distinguished by his uncommon erudition and
 eloquence, and performed, at the same time, the
 functions of professor of divinity in the university,
 and of ordinary pastor in the church of that
 famous city [p]. This eminent ecclesiastic de-
 claimed with vehemence against the vices
 that had corrupted the clergy of all de-
 nominations; nor was he singular in this respect;

☞ [p] A Bohemian Jesuit, who was far from being favour-
 able to John Hufs, and who had the best opportunity of being
 acquainted with his real character, describes him thus: "He
 was more subtle than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity
 of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre
 countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affa-
 bilit-
 est
 c persons of all ranks, from the high-
 est, were much more than any eloquence
 Bohuslaus Bal
 list. Rer. Bohem.

for such remonstrances had become very common, and were generally approved by the wise and the good. Hufs, however, went still farther; and from the year 1408, used his most zealous endeavours to withdraw the university of *Prague* from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII. whom the kingdom of *Bohemia* had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbishop of *Prague*, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the interests of Gregory, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings. Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of *Rome*, and the corruptions that prevailed among the sacerdotal order.

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VI. Such were the circumstances that first excited the resentment of the clergy against John Hufs. This resentment, however, might have been easily calmed, and perhaps totally extinguished, if new incidents of a more important kind had not arisen to keep up the flame and increase its fury. In the first place, he adopted the philosophical opinions of the *Realists*, and shewed his warm attachment to their cause, in the manner that was usual in this barbarous age, even by persecuting, to the utmost of his power, their adversaries, the *Nominalists*, whose number was great, and whose influence was considerable in the university of *Prague* [q]. He also multiplied

The realists that excited the resentment of the clergy against John Hufs.

[q] See the *Litteræ Nominalium ad Regem Franciæ Ludovicum* VI. in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 534. where we read the following passage: "Legimus Nominales expulso de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum regnum suis hæresibus inticere.—Quum dicti hæretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Abbatissæ (Hencasæ) principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensi ritu Parisiensi;

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plied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages to which their respective nations were entitled in all points that were carried by election in the university of *Prague*. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder Charles IV., into four nations, namely, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons; of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had *three suffrages*, and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the *German nation*, only *one*. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted in favour of the Germans, who were vastly superior to the Bohemians in number, and assumed to themselves the three suffrages, which, according to the original institution of the university, belonged undoubtedly to the latter. Huss, therefore, whether animated by a principle of patriotism, or by an aversion to the *Nominalists*, who were peculiarly favoured by the Germans, raised his voice against this abuse, and employed, with success, the extraordinary credit he had obtained at court, by his flowing and masculine eloquence, in depriving the Germans of the privilege they had usurped, and in reducing their three suffrages to one. The issue of this long and tedious contest [*r*] was so offensive to the Germans, that a prodigious

sensum; quo edito civitatem relinquere, et ibidem crexerunt usque [r] Wenceslaus, both of the contending this dispute, and used good cause, which laid

supradicti Nominalistae Pragmam, ad Legem, civitatem, solem-nissimum Bohemiam, who by exacted infinite trouble, that considerable

prodigious number of them with John Hoffmann, the rector of the university at their head. They retired from *Peperow*, and repaired to *Langen*, where Frederic the III. rector of *Leipzig*, coming for them, in the year 1528, that renowned religious which still survives in a flourishing state. The event contributed greatly to render him known to many, and by the consequence that followed it, was certainly instrumental in bringing about his ruin. For in 1531 the the *German* retired from *Peperow*, and in 1532 the *German* inveigh with greater violence than ever against the *German* doctrine, and in 1533 the *German* in an open and public manner, and in the opinion of the world, the *German* doctrine had already been rejected. Hence an assembly was held in the year 1534, which was the XXIII. by which the *German* the common *German* deed, this was the *German* temple, and in the *German* writings, and in the *German* upon the *German* *disfranchised* the *German* the *German* and the *German* *German* were almost all *German*.

VII. This *German* and

fervent and sincere, and rather too violent, and

and *German* The *German*

in the *German* *German*

of *German* *German*

ber of *German* *German*

this occasion *German*

others *German* *German*

(a contemporary *German*)

[i] See *German* *German*

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equally circumpect, was summoned to appear before the council of *Constance*. Obedient to this order, and thinking himself secured from the rage of his enemies, by the safe conduct which had been granted to him by the emperor Sigismund, both for his journey to *Constance*, his residence in that city; and his return to his own country, John Hufs appeared before the assembled churchmen, to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of *Rome* was entirely groundless. And it may be affirmed with truth, that his religious opinions, at least in matters of importance, were conformable to the established doctrine of the church in this age [*u*]. He declaimed, indeed, with extraordinary vehemence against the Roman pontiffs, the bishops and monks: but this freedom was deemed lawful in these times, and it was used every day in the council of *Constance*, where the tyranny of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were censured with the utmost severity. The enemies, however, of this good man, who were very numerous both in the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and also in the council of *Constance*, coloured the accusation that was brought against him with such artifice and success, that, by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was thrown into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council, which commanded him to plead guilty against the dictates of his

✠ [*u*] It was observed in the preceding section, that John Hufs adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner the writings and opinions of Wickliffe; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the clergy; for, in other respects, it is certain that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears from various passages in two sermons which he had prepared for the council of *Constance*.

conscience,

conscience, and was burned alive on the 6th of July, 1415; which dreadful punishment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation, expressing in his last moments the noblest feelings of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those transporting promises with which the gospel fortifies the true Christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude and constancy of mind by Jerome of Prague, the intimate companion of John Hufs, who came to this Council with the generous design of supporting and seconding his persecuted friend. Terrified by the prospect of a cruel death, Jerome at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which it had condemned in his writings. This submission, however, was not attended with the advantages he expected from it; nor did it deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which he was kept. He therefore resumed his fortitude; professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions which he had deserted for a while from a principle of fear; and maintained them in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416 [w].

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Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against Hufs and his associate: and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this con-

The true causes of these violent proceedings against John Hufs and Jerome of Prague.

[w] The translator has here inserted into the text the long note [a] of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers; he has thrown the citations therein contained into several s.

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clusion is both natural and well grounded; nor will it be difficult to shew how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of *Constance* were so eagerly bent upon burning, as a heretic, a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the *first place*, John Hufs had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in *Bohemia*, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops, therefore, together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible, that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being annihilated, if this reformer should return to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom which he had formerly exercised. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin; they laboured night and day, formed plots, bribed men in power; they used, in short, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary [x]. It may be observed, *secondly*, that in the council of *Constance*, there were many men of great influence and weight, who looked upon themselves as personally offended by John Hufs,

[x] The bribery and corruption that were employed in bringing about the ruin of John Hufs, are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium Hussiticum* of Laur. Byzinius, p. 135. (see *Ludewigi Reliquiæ*, tom. vi.) "Clerus perversus, præcipue in regno Bohemix et marchionatu Moravix, condemnationem ipsius (Hussi) contributione pecuniarum, et modis aliis diversis procuravit, et ad ipsius consensum interitum." And again, p. 150. "Clerus perversus regni Bohemix et marchionatus Moravix, et præcipue episcopi, abbates, canonici, plebani, et religiosi, ipsius fideles ac salutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, simoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, pecuniarum contributiones ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt."

and

and who demanded his life as the only sacrifice that could satisfy their vengeance. Hufs, as has been already mentioned, was not only attached to the party of the Realists, but was peculiarly severe in his opposition to their adversaries. And now he was so unhappy, as to be brought before a tribunal which was principally composed of the Nominalists, with the famous John Gerson at their head, who was the zealous patron of that faction, and the mortal enemy of Hufs. Nothing could equal the vindictive pleasure the Nominalists felt from an event that put this unfortunate prisoner in their power, and gave them an opportunity of satisfying their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in their letter to Louis, king of France [y], they do not pretend to deny that Hufs fell a victim to the resentment of their sect, which is also confirmed by the history of the council of Constance. The animosities that always reigned among the Realists and Nominalists, were at this time carried to the greatest excess imaginable. Upon every occasion they charged, they accused each other of heresy and impiety, and constantly had recourse to corporal punishment to decide the dispute. The Nominalists promoted the death of Hufs, who was a Realist; and the Realists, on the other hand, opposed it. In the year 1479, the condemnation of John de Wicks, who was attached to the party of the Nominalists [z]. These contending factions were the

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[9] See Baluzi, *Mystic*, torn. ix, p. 366, n. 1, who has the following passage: "Inducuntur Iohannis Petrus, Petrus de Aliaco, Joannes de Gandavo, et alii quatuor vires doctissimos homines Romanos, qui conveniunt ad ecclesiam Constantinensem, ad quos erat Joannes Innocentius, et Joannes Hieronymus et Johannes . . . cum deinde per quatuor dies disputatum fuisset."

[2] See the *Examen Mexicano* of Tezozomoc, *Mex. An.* de Wefalia, in *Ornato Gram.* y sus deriv. exp. de la Leng. endar. Colon. 1555, Fol. 169.

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blind fury so far as to charge each other with the sin against the Holy Ghost [a], and exhibited the most miserable spectacle of inhuman bigotry to the Christian world. The aversion which John Hufs, and Jerome, his companion, had against the Germans, was a *third* circumstance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This aversion they declared publicly at *Prague*, upon all occasions, both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of *Constance*, where they accused them of presumption and despotism in the strongest terms [b]. The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the university of *Prague*, by the means of John Hufs, burned with resentment and rage both against him and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence and authority were very great in the council, there is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmost zeal, against these two formidable adversaries. Besides, John Hoff.

[a] In the *Examen* mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage, which may shew us the extravagant length to which the disputes between the *Nominalists* and *Realists* were now carried: "Quis nisi ipse Diabolus feminavit illam zizaniam inter Philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum, inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia quisquam Realia negaverit, existimetur in spiritum sanctum peccavisse, imo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam, graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis nisi a diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?" We see by this passage, that the *Realists* charged their adversaries (whose only crime was the absurdity of calling *universal ideas* mere *denominations*) with sin against the Holy Ghost, with transgression against God, and against the Christian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of justice and civil polity.

[b] See Theod. de Niem, *Invectiva in Joh. XXIII.* in Hardtii *Actis Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450. "Imperabat etiam in publico Alamannis, dicendo, quod essent præsumptuosi, et vellent ubique per orbem dominari.—Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Bohemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alamanni violenter exinde repulsi et male tractati fuissent."

man,

man, the famous rector of the university of *Prague*, whom Hufs had been the occasion of expelling from that city, together with the Germans, and who in consequence thereof became his most virulent enemy, was consecrated bishop of *Misnia*, in the year 1413, and held in this council the most illustrious rank among the delegates of the German church. This circumstance was also most unfavourable to Hufs, and was, without doubt, ultimately detrimental to his cause.

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The circumstances now mentioned, as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we see, all drawn from the resentment and prejudices of his enemies, and have not the least colour of equity. It must, however, be confessed, that there appeared one *mark of heresy* in the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the notions that prevailed in this century, might expose him to condemnation with some shadow of reason and justice; I mean, his inflexible obstinacy, which the church of *Rome* always considered as a grievous *heresy*, even in those whose errors were of little moment. We must consider this man, as called before a council, which was supposed to represent the universal church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. This he obstinately refused to do, unless he was previously convicted of error; here, therefore, he resisted the authority of the *catholic church*, demanded a rational proof of the justice of the sentence it had pronounced against him, and intimated, with sufficient plainness, that he looked upon the church as *fallible*. All this certainly was most enormously criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a dutiful son of the church to renounce his eye-sight, and to submit his own judgement and will, without any exception or reservation, to the judgement and will

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of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which Pliny observed in his conduct towards the Christians: "When they persevered (says he in his letter to Trajan), I put my threats into execution, from a persuasion, that, whatever their confession might be, their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved an exemplary punishment [c]."

The council
issued out a
decree
against the
writings
and ashes of
Wickliffe.

VIII. Before sentence had been pronounced against John Hufs and Jerome of *Prague*, the famous Wickliffe, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this spiritual tribunal; and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, many propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings, were examined and condemned, and an order was issued to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the *cup* from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist; ordered "that the Lord's supper should be received by them only in one kind, i. e. *the bread*," and rigorously prohibited the *communion in both kinds*. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of Jacobellus de Misa, curate of the parish of *St. Michael* at *Prague*, who, about a year before, had been persuaded by Peter of *Dresden*, to administer the Lord's supper in *both kinds*, and was followed in this by several

[c] Plin. *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 97. "Perseverantes duci jussi Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur perveraciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri." churches.

churches [*d*]. The council, being informed of this matter by a Bohemian bishop, thought proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this *heresy*; and therefore they enacted the statute, which ordered “the communion to be administered to the laity only in one kind,” and which obtained the force and authority of a law in the church of *Rome*.

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IX. In the same year, the opinion of John Petit, a doctor of divinity at *Paris* [*e*], who maintained, that every individual had an undoubted right to take away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the council, and was condemned as an odious and detestable heresy; but both the name and person of the author were spared, on account of the powerful patrons, under whose protection he had defended that pernicious doctrine. John, duke of *Burgundy*, had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians to assassinate Louis, duke of *Orleans*, only brother of Charles VI. king of *France*. While the whole city of *Paris* was in an uproar, in consequence of this horrible deed, Petit vindicated it in a public oration, in presence of the dauphin and the other princes of the blood, affirming, that the duke had done a laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a tyrant to death, “in any way, either by violence or fraud; “without any form of law or justice; and “even in opposition to the most solemn contracts “and oaths of fidelity and allegiance.” It is, however, to be observed, that by *tyrants*, this doctor did not mean the supreme rulers of nations, but those powerful and insolent subjects, who abused their opulence and credit to bring about measures that tended to the dishonour of their sovereign

The sentence of the council against John Petit.

[*d*] *Byzini Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.

[*e*] Some historians have erroneously represented Petit as a lawyer. See Dr. Smollet's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 462. in 4to.

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The hopes
of a reformation
in
the church
illustrated.

and the ruin of their country [f]. The university of *Paris* pronounced a severe and rigorous sentence against the author of this pernicious opinion; and the council of *Constance*, after much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the council, though modified with the utmost clemency and mildness, was not ratified by the new pontiff Martin V. who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of *Burgundy*, to confirm a sentence which he knew would be displeasing to that ambitious prince [g].

X. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of greater importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its head and in its members, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of licentious ecclesiastics. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon the council of *Constance*, from a general persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to

[f] This appears manifestly from the very discourse of Petit, which the reader may see in L'Enfant's *History of the Council of Pisa*, tom. ii. p. 303 †. See also August. Leyseri *Diff. quæ memoriam Joh. Burgundi et doctrinam Joh. Parvi de eade per duellum vindicat*. Wittenberg. 1735, in 4to.

[g] Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. v. p. 113. et passim. — Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. part II. p. 184. — Gersonis *Opera* edited by M. Du Pin, tom. v. Bayle *Diction.* tom. iii. p. 2268.

† See also the same author's *History of the Council of Constance*, book iii. sect. xix.

be effected, that little could be expected, and still less was done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, until a new pontiff should be elected. And, what was still more shocking, Martin V. was no sooner raised to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot; and made it appear most evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention, than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected its chief ostensible object; and the members postponed to a future assembly of the same kind, which was to be summoned five years after this period, that pious design of purifying a corrupt church, which had been so long the object of the expectations and desires of all good Christians.

XI. Not merely five years, but almost thirteen, elapsed without the promised meeting. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed at length over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and Martin summoned a council to meet at *Pavia*, whence it was removed to *Sienna*, and thence to *Basil*. The pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st day of February, 1431, just

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A council assembled at Basil, where the reformation of the church is again attempted in vain.

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about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Gabriel Condolmerio, a native of *Venice*, and bishop of *Sienna*, who is known in the papal list by the title of Eugenius IV. This pontiff approved all the measures of his predecessor, in relation to the assembling of the council of *Basil*, which was accordingly opened on the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of cardinal Julian Cæsarini, who performed the functions of president in the place of Eugenius.

The two grand points that were proposed to the deliberation of this famous council, were, the *union of the Greek and Latin churches*, and the *reformation of the church universal, both in its head and in its members*, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of *Constance*. For that the Roman pontiff, or the head of the church, and the bishops, priests, and monks, who were looked upon as its members, had become excessively corrupt, and that, to use the expression of the prophet in a similar case, *the whole head was sick and the whole heart faint*, were matters of fact too striking to escape the knowledge of the obscurest individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council [*b*], by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and

☞ [*b*] By the form of the council, Dr. Mosheim undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.

purpose

purpose of their meeting, Eugenius was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things; and beholding with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, he twice attempted the dissolution of the council. These repeated attempts were vigorously opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of *Constance*, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior in point of authority to the Roman pontiff. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between the council and the pope, was terminated, in November 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, in the following month, wrote a letter from *Rome*, expressing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgement of its authority [i].

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[i] The history of this grand and memorable council is yet a desideratum. The learned Stephen Baluze (as we find in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tome vi. p. 541.), and after him M. L'Enfant, promised the world a history of this council; but neither of these valuable writers performed their promise*. The acts of this famous assembly were collected with incredible industry, in a great number of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expence of Rodolphus Augustus, duke of *Brunswick*, by the very learned and laborious Herman von der Hardt. They are preserved, as we are informed, in the library at *Hanover*; and they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat, and published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may consult the abridgement of the acts of this council, published in 8vo. at *Paris*, in the year 1512, of which I have made use in this history, as also the following authors: *Æneæ Sylvii Lib. duo de Concilio Basiliensi*.—Edm. Richerius, *Histor. Concilior. General. lib. iii. cap. 1.*—Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

* Dr. Mosheim has here been guilty of an oversight; for L'Enfant did in reality perform his promise, and composed the History of the Council of Basle, which he blended with his history of the war of the Hussites, on account of the connection between these subjects, and also because his advanced age prevented his indulging himself in the hope of being able to give, separately, a complete history of the council of Basle.

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The decrees
and acts of
the council
of Basil.

XII. These preliminary measures being finished, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared, upon oath, that they would submit to the decrees that should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of *Constance*, in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. These very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council on the 26th of June, 1434; and, on the 9th of the same month in the following year, the *Annates* (as they were called) were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election; it was voted that the number of cardinals should be reduced to twenty-four; and the papal impositions, called *Expectatives*, *Reservations*, and *Provisions*, were annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked Eugenius to the highest degree, and induced him to form a design, either of removing this troublesome and enterprising council into *Italy*, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council at *Basil*, *Avignon*, or some city in the duchy of *Savoy*, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into *Italy*. Each of the contending parties persevered, with the

the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken; and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear at *Basil*, on the 26th day of July, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with the requisition, issued a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at *Ferrara*. This decree, indeed, was treated with the utmost contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of *France*, and several other princes, continued its deliberations at *Basil*, and, on the 28th of September, in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff, for having refused to obey their order.

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XIII. In the year 1438, Eugenius in person opened the council, which he had summoned to meet at *Ferrara*, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at *Basil*. The principal business that was now to be transacted in the pontiff's council, was the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in order to bring this salutary and important design to a happy issue, the emperor John Palaeologus, the Grecian patriarch Josephus, with the most eminent bishops and doctors among the Greeks, arrived in *Italy*, and appeared at *Ferrara*. The extremity to which the Greeks were reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would contribute to engage the Latins in their cause, seem to have animated, in a particular manner, their zeal in this negotiation. Be that as it may, there was little done at *Ferrara*, where matters were carried on too slowly, to afford any prospect of an end of their dissensions: but the

The council
of Ferrara
held by
Eugenius.

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negotiations were more successful at *Florence*, whither Eugenius removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at *Ferrara*. On the other hand, the council of *Basil*, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, 1439; which vigorous measure was not approved by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of *Basil* by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of *Basil*, whose members, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity Amadeus, duke of *Savoy*, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a charming retreat, called *Ripaille*, upon the borders of the *Leman Lake*, and who is known in the papal list by the name of Felix V.

The church
afflicted
with a
schism.

XIV. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of *Constance*. The new breach was even more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between rival pontiffs, but also between the contending councils of *Basil* and *Florence*. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of Eugenius; while Felix was acknowledged, as lawful pontiff, by a great number of universities, and, among others, that of *Paris*.

and provinces. The council of *Basil* continued to deliberate, to enact laws, and publish edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of Eugenius and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at *Basil*, *Lyons*, or *Lausanne*, as soon as a proper opportunity should offer itself.

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In the mean time, the council of *Florence*, with Eugenius at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose was the learned Bessarion, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Romish church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, and even had recourse to promises and threats, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by Eugenius. These conditions required their consent to the following points:—"That the holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father; that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's supper;"—and lastly, which was the principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, *that the Roman pontiff supreme judge, the true head of the universal* were the terms of peace to which all the

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the Greeks were obliged to submit, except Mark of *Ephesus*, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had by no means stability sufficient to ensure its duration. We find, accordingly, that the Grecian deputies had no sooner returned to *Constantinople*, than they declared publicly, that all things had been carried on at *Florence* by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been so imperfectly healed. The council of *Florence* put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, 1442 [k], without having executed any of the designs that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner. For, besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and more particularly the Abyssinians, into the bosom of the Romish church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

Which is
healed under
the pontifi-
cate of Ni-
cholas V.

XV. Eugenius IV. who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of *Rome*, died in February 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by Thomas de Sarzano, bishop

[k] The *History* of this council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian, Sylvester Sgyropulus, whose work was published at the *Hague*, in the year 1660, with a Latin translation, a preliminary discourse, and ample notes, by the learned Robert Creighton, a native of *Great Britain*. This history was refuted by Leo Allatius, in a work entitled *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem, et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sgyropulo*, Romæ, 1674, 4to. See the same author's *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occident.* p. 875. as also Mabillon, *Museum*, tom. i. p. 223.—Spanheim, *de perpetua dissension.* p. 491.—Hei- cap. v. p. 121

of *Bologna*, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicholas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and, what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under this pontificate, the European princes, and more especially the king of *France*, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union to the Latin church; and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. For, in the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the papal chair, and returned to his delightful hermitage at *Ripaille*, while the fathers of the council of *Basil*, assembled at *Lausanne* [1], ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of Nicholas as their lawful pontiff. On the other hand, Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of *Basil*. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he promoted in *Italy*, with great success, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from *Constantinople* into that country [m]. The principal occasion of his death

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[1] This abdication was made on the 9th of April, 1449, and was ratified on the 16th.

[m] See Dom. Georgii *vita Nicolai V. ad fidem veterum Monumentorum*: to which is added a treatise, entitled, *Disquisitio* *Nicolai V. erga literas et literatos viros patrocinio*, published at *Rome*, in the year 1742.

CENT. was the fatal revolution that threw this capital of
XV. the Grecian empire into the hands of the Turks;
PART II. this melancholy event preyed upon his spirits,
 and hastened his death, which happened on the 24th
 of March, in the year 1455.

Pius II.

XVI. His successor Alphonso Borgia, who was a native of Spain, and is known in the papal list by the denomination of Calixtus III., was remarkable for nothing but his zeal in animating the Christian princes to make war upon the Turks; his reign also was short, for he died in the year 1458. *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, who succeeded him in the pontificate that same year, under the title of **Pius II.**, rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of *Basil* against *Eugenius IV.*, he ignominiously renounced these principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. In the following year he obtained from *Louis XI.* king of *France*, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which favoured, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general coun

macy in the church [n]. But the most egregious instance of impudence and perfidy that he exhibited

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☞ [n] There was a famous edict, entitled, *The Pragmatic Sanction*, issued by Louis IX. who, though he is honoured with a place in the Kalendar, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church, against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings, and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly leveled; and though some creatures of the court of Rome have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of Paris, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at Tours in the year 1483, and by the university of Paris, 1491.—See, for a farther account of this edict, the excellent *History of France*, (begun by the abbé Velly, and continued by M. Villaret,) vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. Mosheim has in view here, is the *Pragmatic Sanction* that was drawn up at Bourges, in the year 1438, by Charles VII. king of France, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grandees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict (which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at Avignon) consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored to their ancient purity and freedom; the annates and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontiffs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of Basle; and the twenty-three articles it contains were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times and the manners of the nation rendered expedient. Such then was the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which Pius II. engaged Louis XI. (who received upon that occasion, for himself and

☞ : That is to say, these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them; and, by the new edict, every church had the privilege of choosing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior. By the Concordat, or agreement, between Francis I. and Leo X. (which was substituted in the place of the Pragmatic Sanction) the nomination to the bishoprics in France, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were vested in the kings of France. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop Burnet's excellent *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3. and in a book entitled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique Francois*, published in 1700, in 1707, and in 4to, in 1762.

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bited to the world was in the year 1463, when he publicly retracted all that he had written in favour of the council of *Basil*, and declared, without either shame or hesitation, that, as *Æneas Sylvius*, he was a damnable heretic; but that, as *Pius II.*, he was an orthodox pontiff. This indecorous declaration was the last circumstance, worthy of notice, that happened during his pontificate; for he died in the month of July, 1464 [o].

Paul II.

XVII. *Paul II.* a Venetian by birth, whose name was Peter Barbo, was raised to the head of the church in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471. His administration was distinguished by some measures, which, if we consider the genius of the times, were worthy of praise; though it must at the same time be confessed, that he did many things which were evidently inexcusable (not to mention his reducing the jubilee circle to twenty-five years, and thus accelerating the return of that most absurd and superstitious ceremony); so that his reputation became at least dubious in after-times, and was viewed in differ-

and his successors, the title of *Most Christian*) to abolish, by a solemn declaration; the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble stand made by the university of *Paris* in favour of the *Sanction*. Louis also, perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of *Geoffry*, bishop of *Arras*, (whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promises of a more lucrative kind,) took no sort of pains to have it executed, but published, on the contrary, new edicts against the pecuniary pretensions and extortions of the court of *Rome*: so that in reality the *Pragmatic Sanction* was not abolished before the adjustment of the *Concordat* or agreement, which was transacted between *Francis I.* and *Leo X.* in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the united efforts of the clergy, the university, the parliament, and the people. See, for a farther account of this matter, *Du Clos*, *Histoire de Louis XI.* vol. i. p. 115.—132.

[o] Besides the writers of ecclesiastical history, see *Nouveau Diction. et Critique*, tome ii. at the article *Enée Sylvius*, p. 26.

ent lights by different persons [p]. The following pontiffs, Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. whose names were Francis Albescola and John Baptist Cibo, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the danger that threatened *Europe* in general, and *Italy* in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted to put themselves in a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to check the progress of that warlike people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented the execution of this important design, and rendered the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on, during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of sufficient importance to require particular notice.

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XVIII. In the series of pontiffs that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, whose name was Roderic Borgia. The life and actions of this man shew, that there was a *Nero* among the popes, as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities, that history has imputed to this papal *Nero*, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And, though the malignity

Alexander
VI.

[p] Paul II. has had the good fortune to find, in one of the most eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal Quirini), a zealous apologist. See, among the productions of that illustrious prelate, the piece entitled, "*Pauli II. Vita, ex Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindiciis adversus Platinam aliosque obtrusatores, Roma, 1740,*" in 4to.

of

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of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and, in some instances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet we have upon record an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of Alexander VI. odious and detestable, in the opinion even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source from which proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons by a concubine with whom he had lived many years; among whom was the infamous Cæsar Borgia. A daughter, named Lucretia, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for his spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours; and in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion, threw in his way [q]. Thus he persisted in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son Cæsar had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days [r].

[q] The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in English by Mr. Alexander Gordon, whose work was translated into French, and published at *Amsterdam*, in 1732. The same subject has, however, been treated with greater moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Histoire du Droit Publ. Eccles. François*, to which history are subjoined the lives of Alexander VI. and Leo X.

[r] Such is the account which the best historians have given of the death of Alexander VI. Voltaire, notwithstanding, has pretended to prove that this pontiff died a natural death.

XIX. The

XIX. The monastic societies, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were, at this time, so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious Epicureans, whose views in life were confined to opulence, idleness, and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts; and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves great popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness [s]. This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in France and Germany, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order [t]. Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, Nicholas de Mazen, an Austrian abbot, and Nicholas Dunkelspuhl, professor at Vienna, held the first rank. They attempted, with unparalleled zeal and assiduity, the reformation of the Benedictines throughout Germany, and succeeded so far as to restore, at least, a certain air of decency and virtue in the monasteries of Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria [u]. The reformation of the same order was attempted in France by many, and particularly by Guido, or Guy Juvenal, a learned man, whose writings, upon that and on other

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PART II.
The monks

[s] See Martin Scapula, *Tulliorum Oratio in Concilio*, &c. *Oratio in Concilio Byzantino*, A. 1432, contra monachos, &c. citata, in Bern. Petri *Bibliotheca*, tom. 1. cap. 20.

[t] See Leibnitz *Præfationum*, *Scriptor. Germanicorum*, p. 40.

[u] For an account of these reforms, see *Monach. Bibliotheca*, *Multitudo*, *de* *Monach. Bibliotheca*, *de* *Monach. Bibliotheca*, *de* *Monach. Bibliotheca*, p. 143. 163. 223.

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subjects, were received with applause [*w*]. It is, however, certain, that the greatest part of the monks, both in France and elsewhere, resisted, with obstinacy, the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians, and returned their zeal with the worst treatment that it was possible to shew them.

The Men-
dicants.

XX. While the opulent monks exhibited to the world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, indolence, and licentiousness, accompanied with a barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the remotest aspect of science, the Mendicants, and more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were chargeable with irregularities of another kind. Besides their arrogance, which was excessive, a quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of others, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of superstition, and the itch of disputing and of starting absurd and intricate questions of a religious kind, prevailed among them, and drew upon them justly the displeasure and indignation of many. It was this wrangling spirit that seriously protracted the controversies which had subsisted so long between them and the bishops, and, indeed, the whole sacerdotal order; and it was their vain curiosity, and their inordinate passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the greatest part of the European colleges, complain of the dangerous and destructive errors they had introduced into religion. These complaints were repeated, without interruption, in all the provinces where the Mendicants had any credit; and the same complaints were often presented to the court of Rome, where they exercised sufficiently both the patience and subtlety of the pontiffs and their ministers. The dis-

[*w*] See Liron's *Singularités*,
tome iii. p. 49

tiffs that ruled the church during this century, were differently affected towards the Mendicants; some patronized them, others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the decision of the contest dubious [x]. The persecution that was carried on against the Beguins became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the Beguins and Lollards, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these numerous and powerful societies, they might find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their hopes entirely disappointed; but the storm that hitherto pursued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the Mendicants; who, by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred order, and were thereby involved in various difficulties and perplexities [y].

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XXI. The more austere and rebellious Franciscans, who, separating themselves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontiffs, and were distinguished by the appellation of Fratricelli, or Minorites, continued, together with their Tertiaries, the Beghards, to carry on an open war against the court of Rome. Their head-quarters were in Italy in the marquissate of Ancona, and the neighbouring countries; for it

The fate of
the Fratri-
celli.

[x] See Launoy, *Lib. de Canone Omnis Utriusque Sexus*, op. tom. I. part I. p. 287.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 752.—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Dacæ*, tom. I. p. 210. 224.

[y] See the history of the preceding century.

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was there that their leader, and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted, about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity by pope Nicholas V. who employed every method he could devise to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the Franciscan monks, armed hosts, and civil magistrates, and committing to the flames many of those who remained unmoved by all these means of conversion [z]. This heavy persecution was carried on by the succeeding pontiffs, and by none with greater bitterness and vehemence than by Paul II. though it is said, that this pope chose rather to conquer the headstrong and stubborn perseverance of this sect by imprisonment and exile, than by fire and sword [a]. The Fratricelli, on the other hand, animated by the protection of several persons of great influence, who became their patrons on account of the striking appearance of sanctity which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom Angelo of Camaldoli fell a victim to their vengeance [b]. Nor were the commotions raised by this troublesome sect confined to Italy; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and Bohemia and Silesia (where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, “ that the true

[z] Mauritius Sartius, *de Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana*, in Angeli Calogeræ *Raccolta di Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have several extracts from the *Manuscript Dialogue* of Jacobus de Marchia, against the Fratricelli.

[a] Ang. Mar. Quirini *Vita Pauli II.* p. 78.—Jo. Targionius, *Præf. ad claror. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written against the Fratricelli by Nicholas Palmerius and others under the pontificate of Paul II. and which are yet in manuscript.

[b] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Maii.* p. 356.

“ imitation

"*influence of Christ*" *restored it* *heaven* and
 "extreme power" *became the theatre of the*
historical war [c]. The king of Bohemia was well
 affected to these *fanatics*, granted them his pro-
 tection, and was at that account excommunicat-
 ed by Paul II. [d]. In France their affairs were
 far from being prosperous; most of them as fell
 into the hands of the magistrates, were committed
 to the flames [e], and they were eagerly searched
 after in the province of Toulouse and the adjacent
 countries, where great numbers of them lay con-
 cealed, and endeavoured to elude the vigilance
 of their enemies: while several of their scattered
 parties remained in England and Ireland [f]. Even
 the dreadful *series of calamities and persecutions* that
 harassed this miserable sect did not entirely extin-
 guish it: for it subsisted until the times of the re-
 formation in Germany, when its remaining votaries
 adopted the cause, and embraced the doctrine and
 discipline of Luther.

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XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were
 founded in this century, not one deserves a more
 honourable mention than the Brethren and Clerks
 of the common life (as they called themselves),
 who lived under the rule of St. Augustine, and
 were eminently useful in promoting the cause of
 religion, learning, and virtue. This society had
 been formed in the preceding age by Gerard
 Groote, a native of Deventer [g], and a man re-

New orders;
 the Bre-
 thren and
 Clerks of the
 common
 life.

[c] Jo. Georgii Schelhornii *Acta Historica Eccles.* part I.
 p. 66. 283.

[d] Quirini *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

[e] I have in manuscript the acts or decrees of the Inqui-
 sition against John Gualtheri de Castellione and Francis d'Ar-
 chata, both of them Frenchmen, who were burned in France,
 in the year 1454.

[f] Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 232.

[g] The life of this famous Dutchman Gerard Groote, was
 written by Thomas a Kempis, and is to be found in his works.
 It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries,
 composed by this eminent writer.

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markable for his fervent piety and extensive erudition; it was not, however, before the present century, that it received a proper degree of consistence, and, having obtained the approbation of the council of *Constance*, flourished in *Holland*, the *Lower Germany*, and the adjacent provinces. It was divided into two classes, the *Lettered Brethren* or *Clerks*, and the *Illiterate*, who, though they occupied separate habitations, lived in the firmest bonds of fraternal union. The *Clerks* applied themselves with exemplary zeal and assiduity to the study of polite literature, and to the education of youth. They composed learned works for the instruction of their contemporaries, and erected schools and seminaries of learning wherever they went. The *Illiterate Brethren*, on the other hand, were employed in manual labour, and exercised with success the mechanic arts. Neither of the two classes were under the restraint of religious vows; yet they had all things in common, and this community was the great bond of their union. The *Sisters* of this virtuous society lived much in the same manner, and employed the hours, that were not consecrated to prayer and reading, in the education of young females, and in branches of industry suitable to their sex. The schools, that were erected by the *Clerks* of this fraternity, acquired a great and illustrious reputation in this century. From them issued those immortal restorers of learning and taste who gave a new face to the republic of letters in Germany and Holland, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Alexander Hegius, John Murmelius, and several others [b]. But the institution of the order of

[b] Accounts of this order have been given by Aub. Miræus, in his *Chronicon*, ad A. 1383, and by Helyot, in his *History of the Religious Orders*, tome iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are some circumstances taken from ancient records not yet published. I have in my possession several manuscripts

of Jesuits seemed to diminish the credit of these excellent schools, which, from that period, began to decline, and of which, there are, at this time, very few remaining. The Brethren of the common life were frequently call Beghards and Lollards (appellations that had been given to so many different sects), and were obliged to sustain the insults and opposition of the clergy and monks, who had a strong aversion to every thing that bore the remotest aspect of learning or taste [i].

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XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired fame by their learned productions, the most eminent were,

The Greek
writers.

Simeon of Thessalonica, the author of several treatises, and, among others, of a book against the Heresies that had troubled the church; to which we may add his writings against the Latins, which are yet extant [k];

Josephus Bryennius, who wrote a book concerning the Trinity, and another against the Latins;

Macarius Macres, whose animosity against the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

George Phranza, whose historical talent makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine historians;

which furnish materials for a much more clear and circumstantial account of the institution and progress of this order, than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

[i] We read frequently, in the records of this century, of schools erected by the Lollards, and sometimes by the Beghards, at Deventer, Brunswick, Königsberg, and Munster, and many other places. Now these Lollards were the clerks of the common life, who, on account of their virtue, industry, and learning, which rendered them so useful in the education of youth, were invited by the magistrates of several cities to reside among them.

[k] Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49.—Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesi. par M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 400.

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Marcus Ephesius, who was an obstinate enemy to the council of Florence [1];

Cardinal Bessarion, the illustrious protector and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition; but much hated by the Greeks, because he seemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former [m];

George Scholarius, otherwise called Gennadius, who wrote against the Latins, especially against the council of Florence, with greater learning, candour, and perspicuity, than the rest of his countrymen displayed [n];

George Gemistius Pletho, a man of eminent learning, who excited many of the Italians to the study, not only of the Platonic philosophy in particular, but of Grecian literature in general;

George of Trapezond, who translated several of the most eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and supported the cause of the Latins against the Greeks by his dexterous and eloquent pen;

George Codinus, of whom we have yet remaining several productions relating to the Byzantine history.

Latin writers.

XXIV. The tribe of Latin writers that adorned or dishonoured this century, cannot easily be numbered. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enumeration of those who wrote upon theological points; and even of these we shall only

[1] Rich. Simon, *l. c.* tome i. p. 431.

[m] For an account of Bessarion and the other learned men here mentioned, see Bornerus and Hody, in their histories of the restoration of letters in Italy, by the Greeks who took refuge there, after the taking of Constantinople: add to these the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

[n] Rich. Simon, *Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Trinité substantiation*, p. 87. & *Critique de M. Du Pin*, tome i.

mention the most eminent. At their head we may justly place John Gerson, chancellor of the university of *Paris*, the most illustrious ornament that this age could boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of *Constance* looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French, as are zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against papal despotism [o]. This excellent man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church; though, in some respects, he does not seem to have thoroughly understood the demands and injunctions of the gospel of Christ. The most eminent among the other theological writers were,

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Nicholas de Clemangis, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, lamented the calamities of the times and the unhappy state of the Christian church [p];

Alphonfus Tostatus, bishop of *Avila*, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with unwieldy and voluminous commentaries, and also composed other works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

[o] See Du Pin's *Gersoniana*, prefixed to the edition of the works of Gerson, which we owe to that laborious author, and which appeared at Antwerp in five volumes folio, in the year 1706. See also Jo. Launoii *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarrensi*, part III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. p. i. op.—Herm. von der Hardt, *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. i. part IV. p. 26.

[p] See Launoii *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* part III. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555—Longueval, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tome xiv. — 1736.—The works of Clemangis were published (excepted) at Leyden, with a glossary,

Ambrose

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Ambrose of Camaldoli, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and industry he discovered in his attempts to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins ;

Nicholas de Cusa, a man of vast erudition, and no mean genius, though not famed for the solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his entitled, " Conjectures concerning the last Day [q]."

John Nieder, whose writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and spirit of the age in which he lived, and whose journeys and transactions have rendered him famous ;

John Capistran, who was in high esteem at the court of Rome on account of the ardor and vehemence with which he defended the jurisdiction and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies and opposers [r] ;

John Wesselus and Jerome Savanarola, who may justly be placed among the wisest and worthiest men of this age. The former, who was a native of Groningen, and on account of his extraordinary penetration and sagacity was called the Light of the World, propagated several of those doctrines, which Luther afterwards inculcated with greater evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom and candour upon the corruptions of the Romish church [s]. The latter was a Dominican and a native of Ferrara, re-

[q] Bayle, *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tome ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517. — The works of Nicholas were published in one volume, at Basil, in the year 1565.

[r] L'Enfant, *Histoire de la C...*
p. 254. — Wadding, *Annales M*

[s] Jo. Henr. Maii *Vita R*

markable for piety, eloquence, and learning; who touched the sores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. For this freedom he severely suffered. He was committed to the flames at Florence in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind [t].

Alphonsus Spina, who wrote a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.

To all these we must join the whole tribe of the scholastic writers, whose chief ornaments were, John Capreolus, John de Turrecremata, Antoninus of Florence, Dionysius a Ryckel, Henry Gomarius, Gabriel Biel, Stephen Brulifer, and others. The most remarkable among the Mystics were, Vincent Ferrerius, Henry Harphius, Laurence Justinianus, Bernardine of Sienna, and Thomas a Kempis, who shone among these with a superior lustre, and to whom the famous book, *concerning the imitation of Christ*, is commonly attributed [u].

[t] Jo. Franc. Buddei *Parerga Historico-Theologica*. The life of Savanarola was written by J. Francis Picus, and published in two volumes 8vo, at Paris, with various annotations, letters, and original pieces, by Quetif, in the year 1674. The same editor published also at Paris, in the same year, the *Spiritual and Affecting Epistles of Savanarola*, translated from the Italian into Latin. See Echard, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 884.

[u] The late abbé Lenglet du Ruisseau promised the world a demonstration that this work, whose true author has been so much disputed among the learned, was originally written in French by a person named Gersen, or Gerson, and only translated into Latin by Thomas a Kempis. See Grænetus in *Lannoianis*, part II. tom. iv. part II. op. p. 414. The history of this celebrated production is given by Vincentius in the *Opera Posthuma Mabillon et Ruinartii*,

C H A P. III.

Concerning the state of religion, and the doctrine of the church, during this century.

CENT. I. **T**HE state of religion had become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even those individuals whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never presume to deny. Among the Greeks and Orientals, religion had scarcely a better aspect than among the Latins; at least, if the difference was in their favour, it was far from being considerable. The worship of the Deity consisted in a round of frivolous and insipid ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed the people in public, were not only destitute of sense, judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality nothing more than a motley mixture of the grossest fictions and the most extravagant inventions. The reputation of Christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired; it was lavished upon those who professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, and their spiritual head the Roman pontiff, who studied to render the saints (*i. e.* the clergy, their ministers) propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which the papal quæstors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression; or, in other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of ordinary piety; but persons who added to these a certain degree of
of

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The corrupt
state of
religion.

of austerity and bodily mortification were placed in the highest order of worthies, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. On the other hand, the number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely small; and such had much difficulty in escaping the flames, at a time when virtue and sense were deemed heretical.

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II. This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality, throughout almost all the western provinces, were observed and deplored by many wise and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. In England and Scotland, the disciples of Wickliffe, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the odious title of Lollards, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy [*w*]. The Waldenses, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, raised their voices even in the remote valleys and lurking-places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in Italy, many, and among others the famous Savonarola, had the courage to declare, that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches, would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and

Defenders
of the true
religion
raised by
Providence
in several
places.

[*w*] See Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britann. et Hibern.* tom. iv.—Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 202. 204.

would

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would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, vigorously opposed every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these importunate censors by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

Commotions
in Bohemia.

III. The religious dissensions that had been excited in Bohemia by the ministry of John Hufs and his disciple Jacobellus de Misa, were doubly inflamed by the deplorable fate of Hufs and Jerome of Prague, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with unparalleled barbarity. The followers of Hufs, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, being persecuted and oppressed in various ways by the emissaries and ministers of the court of Rome, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of Bechin, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper *under both kinds*. This mountain they called Tabor, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and in process of time they raised a considerable fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well-built and regular city. Forming more grand and important projects, they chose for their chiefs Nicholas of Hussinetz, and the famous John Ziska, a Bohemian knight, a man of the most undaunted courage and resolution; and proposed, under the standards of these violent leaders, to revenge the death of Hufs and Jerome upon the creatures of the Roman pontiff, and obtain a liberty of worshiping God in a more rational manner than that which was prescribed by the church of Rome. After the death of Nicholas, which happened in the year 1420, Ziska commanded alone this warlike body, and had the satisfaction to see his army daily increase.

During

During the first tumults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, resigned his breath in the year 1419 [*].

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IV. The emperor Sigismund, who succeeded him in the throne of Bohemia, employed not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws and the force of arms, to put an end to these lamentable divisions; and great numbers of the Hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with Ziska at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the majority of the Hussites chose for their general Procopius Raza, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause, and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides, were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for, notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition that existed between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true

The Hussite
war carried
on by Ziska
and Proco-
pius Raza.

☞ [*] This prince had no sooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of Constance against the Hussites, than the inhabitants of Prague took fire at their proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.

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religion; and such they appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained, that Hufs had been unjustly put to death at *Constance*, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury which he had suffered. They acknowledged it, nevertheless, as an incontestable principle, that *heretics* were worthy of capital punishment; but they denied obstinately that Hufs was a *heretic*. This pernicious maxim, then, was the source of that cruelty which disgraced both parties in this dreadful war; and it is, perhaps, difficult to determine, which of the two carried this cruelty to the greatest height.

The Calix-
tines.

V. All those who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr, set out upon the same principles; and, at the commencement of the war, they seemed to agree both in their religious sentiments and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themselves. But as their numbers increased, their union diminished; and their army being prodigiously augmented by a confluence of strangers from all quarters, a great dissension arose among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished by the titles of *Calixtines* and *Taborites*. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the *cup*, or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings, and modest in their demands, and shewed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of church-government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion which was publicly received. All that they required, may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded, *first*, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner, without

without the mixture of superstitious customs or inventions; namely, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered to all *without distinction*, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of riches and power, should turn their thoughts to object more narrowly to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as become the successors of the poor apostles, and, therefore, that transgressions of a more heinous kind, or *more numerous*, should be punished in a manner suitable to their enormity. In this great faction, however, there were some subordinate sects, who were divided upon several points. The administration of the Lord's supper was one occasion of dispute; Jacobellus de Mita, who had first proposed the celebration of that ordinance *under both kinds*, was of opinion, that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in question to persons of riper years [y].

VI. The demands of the *Tabarites*, who derived Tabarites their name from a mountain well known in sacred history, were much more ample. They not only insisted upon reducing the religion of Jesus to its primitive simplicity, but required also, that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the pope destroyed, the form of divine worship changed: they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a divine impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the *Tabarites* (such as Martin Loquis, a Moravian, and his followers) went so far as to flatter themselves with the chil-

[y] Byzini *Diarium Hystoricum*, p. 130.

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merical notion, that Christ would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated in different countries, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and presumption. It is this enthusiastic class of the Hussites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all those abominable acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder, which are too indiscriminately laid to the charge of the Hussites in general, and to their two leaders Ziska and Procopius in particular [z]. It must indeed be acknowledged, that a great part of the Hussites had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with respect to the obligation of executing vengeance upon their enemies, against

[z] From the following opinions and maxims of the Taborites, which may be seen in the *Diarium Hussiticum* of Byzinius, we may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity: "Omnes legis Christi adversarii debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad quarum executionem fideles sunt provocandi.—In isto tempore ultionis Christus in sua humilitate et miseratione non est imitandus ad ipsos peccatores, sed in zelo et furore et justa retributione.—In hoc tempore ultionis, quilibet fidelis, etiam presbyter, quantumcunque spiritualis, est maledictus, qui gladium suum corporalem prohibet a sanguine adversariorum legis Christi, sed debet manus suas lavare in eorum sanguine et sanctificare." From men, who adopted such horrid and detestable maxims, what could be expected but the most abominable acts of injustice and cruelty? For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war, the reader may consult (besides the ancient writers, such as Sylvius, Theobaldus, Cochlaeus, and others) L'Enfant's *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, which was published at *Amsterdam*, in two volumes, 4to, in the year 1731. To this history it will, however, be advisable to add the *Diarium Belli Hussitici* of Byzinius, a book worthy of the highest esteem, on account of the candour and impartiality with which it is composed, and which Mr. L'Enfant does not seem to have consulted. This valuable production was published, though incomplete, in the sixth volume of the *Reliquiæ Manuscriptæ* the very learned Peter Lud-
wig. See also Bopplemer *ire. de la*
Guerre des Hussites 45, in

whom they breathed nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compassion.

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The commo-
tion in
Bohemia is
terminated.

VII. In the year 1433, the council of *Bafil* endeavoured to put an end to this dreadful war, and for that purpose invited the Bohemians to the assembly. The Bohemians, accepting this invitation, sent ambassadors, and among others Procopius their leader, to represent them in that council. But, after many warm debates, these messengers of peace returned without having effected any thing that might even prepare the way for a reconciliation so long and so ardently desired. The *Calixtines* were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion could engage the *Taborites* to yield. This matter, however, was transacted with more success by *Æneas Sylvius* and others, whom the council sent into *Bohemia* to renew the conferences; for these new legates, by allowing to the *Calixtines* the use of the cup in the holy sacrament, satisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart, and thus reconciled them with the Roman pontiff. But the *Taborites* adhered inflexibly to their first principles; and neither the artifice nor the eloquence of *Sylvius*, nor the threats, sufferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance. From this period, indeed, they began to review their religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical discipline, with a view of rendering them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the gospel, and banished from their communion all persons whose disordered brains, or

larly in *Germany, Italy, France, and Britain.* This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon reformed by the light that could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of divine truth.

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IX. The schools of divinity made a miserable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their disciples, with unintelligible distinctions and unmeaning sounds, that they might thus dispute and discourse, with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not understand. There were now few remaining, of those who proved and illustrated the doctrines of religion by the positive declarations of the holy scriptures, and the sentiments of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we have been speaking. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious persons, who considered their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly, various plans were formed by different individuals, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the *schoolmen* increased from day to day. The Mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the Christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to act with greater moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage of dis-

The scholastic divines and moralists hated and opposed,

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puting that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtilty of the schoolmen with a happy temperature of mystic sensibility and simplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous Gerson, who laboured with the utmost zeal and assiduity in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses which the scholastic divines had introduced into the seminaries [*b*], as also by Savanarola, Petrus de Alliaco, and Nicholas Cusanus, whose treatise concerning *Learned Ignorance* is still extant.

Principally
by the re-
storers of
polite liter-
ature and
eloquence,

X. The litigious herd of schoolmen found a new class of enemies equally keen, in the restorers of eloquence and letters, who were not all, however, of the same opinion with respect to the manner of treating these solemn quibblers. Some of them covered the scholastic doctrine with ridicule, loaded it with invectives, and demanded its suppression, as a most trifling and absurd system, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and could only prevent the growth of genius and true science. Others looked upon this system as supportable, and only proposed illustrating and polishing it by the powers of eloquence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this class was Paulus Cortesius, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*, in which, as we learn from himself, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and clothes the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style [*c*]. After all, the scholastic

[*b*] Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choïses*, tome ii. p. 269. and *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin*, tome i. p. 491.—Thomasi *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56. and principally Gersonis *Methodus Theologiam studendi*, in Launoii *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, tom. iv. op. part I. p. 330.

[*c*] This work was published in folio at Rome, in the year 1512, and at Basil, in 1513.

theology,

theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers; nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thought of losing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools.

XI. This vain philosophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise; while the Mystics gathered strength, and saw their friends and advocates multiply on all sides. Among these there were some men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagances that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as Thomas a Kempis (the author of the *Germanic theology*, so highly commended by Luther), Laurentius Justinianus, Savonarola, and others. There are, on the other hand, some writers of this sect, such as Vincentius Ferrerius, Henricus Harpius, and Bernard of Sienna, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as also the visions of Dionysius, whom the Mystics consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom with which they are mingled. The Mystics were defended against their adversaries, the Dialecticians, partly by the Platonists, who were in general highly esteemed, and partly by some, even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered Dionysius as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of Platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in Marcellus Ficinus, whose name adds a lustre to the Platonic school. The latter attempted

and so by the Mystics

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The state of
polemic, or
controversial
divinity.

a certain sort of association between the scholastic theology and that of the Mystics; and in this class were John Gerson, Nicholas Cusanus, Dionysius the Carthusian, and others.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages; and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of Marcilius Ficinus, *concerning the Truth of Christianity*, Savonarola's *Triumph of the Cross*, the *Natural Theology* of Raymond de Sabunde, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by Perezius and Jerome de St. Foi, the Saracens by Johannes de Turrecremata; and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by Alphonso de Spina, in *the Fortrefs of Faith*. Nor were these pious labours in the defence of the Gospel at all unseasonable or superfluous: on the contrary, the state of things at this time rendered them necessary. For, on the one hand, the Aristotelian philosophers in Italy seemed, in their public instructions, to strike at the foundations of all religion; and, on the other hand, the senseless subtilties and quarrels of the schoolmen, who modeled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiscuously with the Christians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and zeal.

The schism
between the
Latins and
Greeks not
yet healed.

XIII. We have already taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions of the Greek and Latin churches.

churches. After the council of *Florence*, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, Nicholas V. exhorted and intreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after the writing of this last letter, *Constantinople* was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flourishing state. Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted for, when all things are duly considered. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired, from day to day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the hearts of the Greeks; an aversion, produced and nourished by a persuasion, that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation, they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

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XIV. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that dispute concerning the kind of worship to be paid to the blood of Christ, kindled at *Barcelona*, in the year 1263, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and

The interesting
dispute and
conversion of
the Latins.

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and had been left undecided by Clement VI. [d]. This controversy was renewed at Brixen, in the year 1462, by James à Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan, who maintained publicly, in one of his sermons, that the blood which Christ shed upon the crosses, did not belong to the divine nature, and of consequence was not to be considered as an object of divine and immediate worship. The Dominicans rejected this doctrine; and adopted with such zeal the opposite side of the question, that James of Brixen, who performed the office of inquisitor, called the Franciscan before his tribunal, and accused him of heresy. Pope Pius II. having made several ineffectual attempts to suppress this controversy, was at last persuaded to submit the affair to the examination and judgment of a select number of able divines. But many obstacles arose to prevent a final decision, among which we may reckon, as the principal, the influence and authority of the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cause of their respective champions. Hence, after much altercation and chicane, the pontiff thought proper to impose silence on both the parties in this miserable dispute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the same time, that “both sides of the question might be lawfully maintained until Christ’s vicar upon earth should find leisure and opportunity for examining the matter, and determining on which side the truth lay.” This *leisure* and *opportunity* have not yet been offered to the pontiffs [e].

[d] Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 58.—Jac. Echardi *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 650.

[e] Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 206.—Nat. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sac.* xv. p. 17.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies that were used in the church during this century.

I. **T**HE state of religious ceremonies among the Greeks may be learned from the book of Simeon of *Theſſalonica*, concerning *Rites and Heresies* [*f*], from which it appears, that the substance of religion was lost among that people; that a splendid shadow of pomp and vanity was substituted in its place by the rulers of the church; and that all the branches of divine worship were ordered in such a manner as to strike the imaginations, and captivate the senses of the multitude. They pretended, indeed, to allege several reasons for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and institutions of religion, and throwing over the whole of divine worship such a pompous garb of worldly splendour. But in these reasons, and in all their explications of this gaudy ritual, subtilty and invention are more apparent than truth or good sense. The origin of these multiplied rites, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dishonourable. And such as, by force of ill-applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice, and capable of attention.

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Rites of the
Greek
church.

Fabricius has given an account of the contents of
Biblioth. Græca, vol. xiv. p. 54.

II. Though

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Rites in-
creased in
the Latin
church.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of the multiplicity of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus Calixtus III., to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of Belgrade from the powerful arms of Mohammed II. who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the *Transfiguration* of Christ (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout the western world. And Sixtus IV. in the year 1476, granted *Indulgences*, by a particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the *immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin*, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive appointment [g]. The other additions that were made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin Mary, public and private prayers, the traffic of *indulgences*, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deserve an exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere show, to a show composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles.

[g] See Volaterrani *Comment. Urbani*, lib. viii. p. 289.—Æneas Sylvius *De Statu Europe sub Frederico III.* cap. x. in Freheri *Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum*, tom. ii. p. 104.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the heresies, sects, and divisions, that troubled the church during this century.

I. **N**EITHER the severe edicts of pontiffs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigilance of unrelenting *inquisitors*, could extirpate the remains of the ancient heresies, or prevent the rise of new sects. We have already seen the Franciscan order at open war with the church of *Rome*. In *Bosnia*, and the adjacent countries, the Manichæans or Paulicians, who were the same with the sect named *Catharists* in *Italy*, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious assemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that the great protector of the Manichæans, Stephen Thomascus, king of *Bosnia*, abjured their errors, received baptism by the ministry of John Carvaial, a Roman cardinal, and, in consequence thereof, expelled those heretics from his dominions. But it is also certain, that he afterwards changed his mind; and it is well known, that, towards the conclusion of this century, the Manichæans inhabited *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and the neighbouring provinces. The *Waldenses* also still subsisted in several European provinces, more especially in *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, the district of *Magdeburg*, and *Thuringia*, where they had a considerable number of friends and followers. It appears, however, by authentic records, which are not yet published, that a great part of the adherents of this unfortunate sect, in the countries now mentioned, were discovered by the *inquisitors*, and delivered over by them to the magistrates, who committed them to the

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Manichæans
and Wal-
denses.

II. The

fulfilling the duties of rendered and similar to the duties of a slave, who is not aware of his origin. And their names were a mere pretext by these masters to bring them before the Superior Being, who would not be deceived by the names, but by the actions which they did. They were not aware of what they were doing, and what a number of wrongs were committed by them in the name of the Lord, and converted into a duty in the name of the Lord, and rendered without feeling any remorse or responsibility of nature. Herodotus says that the Egyptians, when they were in the hermitage, were engaged in the preparation of that which was called *Phyllo*, when they were in their religious mission, and were present at the celebration of some festival, repeated with it any year, or some whatever. They had also a custom of their minds, a custom, which was very valuable to the genius of the Egyptians, which was that they were not allowed to be idle, and were engaged in the service of the Lord, and of the government, and of the people, and of the state, and of the church, and of the family, and of the individual. These tenets could not but cast a shadow upon the mind upon this subject; and the Egyptians, who religiously affirmed that they possessed the power to the laws of virtue, yet they were severely suspected of the most heinous crimes, and of the most heinous crimes. Thus, the entire moral of the Egyptians, from death to these faults, and to the crimes they committed; and, upon this subject, in the year 1221, the French, and condemned the which dreadful punishment they could not escape, and the punishment of death that was peculiar which they possessed in a degree that

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Beghards,
Schwestri-
ones, Pic-
hards, and
Adamites.

II. The *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit* (who were called in Germany *Beghards* or *Schwestriones*, and in France *Turlupins*, and whose distinctive character was a species of mysticism that bordered upon phrensy) wandered about in a secret and disguised manner in various parts of France, Germany, and Flanders, and particularly in Suabia and Switzerland, where they spread the contagion of their enthusiasm, and caught the unwary in their snares. The search, however, that was made after them, was so strict and well-conducted, that few of the teachers and chiefs of this fanatical sect escaped the hands of the *inquisitors* [b]. When the war between the *Hussites* and the votaries of Rome broke out in Bohemia, in the year 1418, a troop of these fanatics, headed by a person whose name was John, repaired thither and held secret assemblies, first at Prague, and afterwards in different places, whence they at length retired to a certain island, where they were less exposed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occasion to observe, one of the leading principles of this sect, that the tender instincts of nature, with that bashfulness and modesty which generally accompany them, were evident marks of *inherent corruption*, and shewed, that the mind was not

[b] Felix Malleolus (whose German name is *Hammerlein*) in his account of the *Lollards*, which is subjoined to his book *contra validos Mendicantes*, i. e. *against the sturdy Beggars*, *Oper. plag. c. 2. a.* has given us a list, though a very imperfect one, of the *Beghards* that were committed to the flames in Switzerland and the adjacent countries, during this century. This author, in his books against the *Beghards* and *Lollards*, has (either through design, or by a mistake founded on the ambiguity of the terms) confounded three different classes of persons, who were usually known by the appellations of *Beghards* and *Lollards*; as, 1st, the *Tertiaries*, or third order of the more austere Franciscans; 2^{dly}, the *Brethren of the free spirit*; and, 3^{dly}, the *Cellite* or *Alexian* friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.

sufficiently

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that seems to surpass credibility [i]. Among the various titles by which these extravagant enthusiasts were distinguished, that of *Adamites* was one; and it was given them on account of their being so studious to imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was created. The ignominious term of *Beghards*, or *Picards*, at first peculiar to the small sect of which we now treat, was afterwards applied to the *Hussites*, and to all the Bohemians who opposed the tyranny of the Romish church. All these were called by their enemies, and indeed by the multitude in general, *Picard friars*.

The White
Brethren.

III. A new sect, which made a great noise, and infected the multitude with the contagion of its enthusiasm, arose about the beginning of this century. A priest whose name is not known, descended from the *Alps* [k], arrayed in

[i] See the *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum*, MS. lib. ii. fœ. lxxvi. by Lasitius, who proves, in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the *Hussites* and the *Bohemian Brethren* were entirely distinct from these *Picards*, and had nothing in common with them. The other authors that have written upon this subject are honourably mentioned by Isaac de Beaufobre in his *Dissertation sur les Adamites de Bohême*, which is subjoined to L'Enfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This learned author has taken great pains to justify the *Picards*, or Bohemian *Adamites*, whom he supposes to have been the same with the *Waldenses*, and a set of men eminent for their piety, whom their enemies loaded with the most groundless accusations. But this is manifestly endeavouring to wash the *Æthiopian white*. For it may be demonstrated, by the most unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account I have given of the matter is true. The researches I have made, and the knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious history of these times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in such a point as this, than the laborious author from whom I differ, who was not profoundly acquainted with the history of the middle age, and was by no means exempt from prejudice and partiality.

[k] Theodoric de Niem tells us, that the sect came from *Scotland*, and that its leader gave himself out for the prophet *Elias*. Sigonius and Platina inform us, that this enthusiast came from *France*; that he had white ap-
parel,

in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, whence they were distinguished by the name of *Fratres Albati*, i. e. *White Brethren*. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and, by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion, captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked in crowds to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to persuade the Christian nations to renew the war against the infidels in *Palestine*, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine visions, which instructed him in the will and in the secrets of Heaven. Boniface IX. apprehending that this enthusiast or impostor concealed insidious and ambitious views [1], ordered him to be p^{ar}el, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes, and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps, which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy and singing hymns; that wherever they came they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water, during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. Muratori*.—Niem. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

☞ [1] What Dr. Mosheim hints but obscurely here, is explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at *Viterbo*, and that Boniface, fearing that the priest who headed them might endeavour by their assistance to seize the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burned.

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seized and committed to the flames; upon which his followers were dispersed, and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of the sectary, while others assert that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes [m].

The men of
understand-
ing.

IV. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in *Flanders*, and more especially at *Brussels*, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was *Ægidius Cantor*, and to *William of Hildenissen*, a Carmelite monk; and whose members were distinguished by the title of *Men of Understanding*. There were many things reprehensible in the doctrine of this sect, which seemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the Mystics. For they pretended to be honoured with celestial visions; denied that any could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, without the extraordinary succours of a divine illumination; declared the approach of a new revelation from heaven, more complete and perfect than the Gospel of Christ; maintained, that the resurrection was already accomplished in the person of Jesus, and that no other resurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were; that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that not only all mankind, but even the devils themselves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This sect seems to have been a branch of that of

[m] See L'Enfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tome i. p. 102. —Poggi, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122. —Marc. Anton. Sabellicus in *Enneadibus Rhapsodia Historica*, *Ennead.* ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. op. p. 839. published in folio at *Basil* in the year 1560.

the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and of spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which shewed, that they were not totally void of *understanding*; for they maintained, among other things, “*1st*, That Christ alone had merited “eternal life and felicity for the human race, “and that therefore men could not acquire this “inestimable privilege by their own actions “alone; *2^{dly}*, That the priests, to whom the “people confessed their transgressions, had not “the power of absolving them, but that it was “Christ alone in whom this authority was vested; and *3^{dly}*, That voluntary penance and mortification were not necessary to salvation.” These propositions, however, and some others, were declared *heretical* by Peter d’Ailly, bishop of *Cambray*, who obliged William of Hildenissen to abjure them [*n*], and opposed with the greatest vehemence and success the progress of this sect.

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V. The sect of the *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, continued to excite commotions in *Germany*, more especially in *Thuringia* and the *Lower Saxony*; but these fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the same name, who ran wildly in troops through various provinces. The new *Whippers* rejected not only the sacraments, but also every branch of external worship, and placed their only hopes of salvation in *faith* and *flagellation*; to which they added some strange doctrines concerning the *evil spirit*, and other matters, which are not explained in history with sufficient perspicuity. The person that ap-

A new sect
of Flagel-
lantes, or
Whippers.

[*n*] See the records of this transaction in Steph. Baluz. *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 277.

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peared at the head of this sect in *Thuringia* was Conrad Schmidt; and he was committed to the flames, with many of his followers [o], in the year 1414, by Schonefeld, who was, at that time, inquisitor in *Germany*, and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal in the extirpation of heresy. Nicholas Schaden suffered at *Quedlinburg* for his attachment to this sect; and, though Berthold Schade, who was seized at *Halberstadt* in the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable, by abjuring their doctrine [p], we find in the records of these unhappy times a numerous list of the *Flagellantes*, whom the *German* inquisitors devoted to the flames.

[o] *Excerpta Monachi Pirnenfis*, in Jo. Burch. Menkenii *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521.—*Chron. Monaster.* in Anton. Matthæi *Anale&. vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 71.—*Chron. Magdeb.* in Meibomii *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. ii. p. 362.—From sixteen articles of faith adopted by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of *Brandenborch* in the year 1411, and which Conrad Schmidt is said to have taken from the papers of *Walkenried*, we may derive a tolerable idea of their doctrine, of which the substance is as follows: "That the opinions adopted by the Roman church, with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and several other points, are entirely false and groundless; and that the person who believes what is contained in the Apostles' Creed, repeats frequently the Lord's prayer and the Ave Maria, and at certain times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment for the transgressions he has committed, shall obtain eternal salvation."

[p] See the account of this matter, which is given by the learned Jo. Ernest Kappius, in his *Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A. 1747. p. 475.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.







